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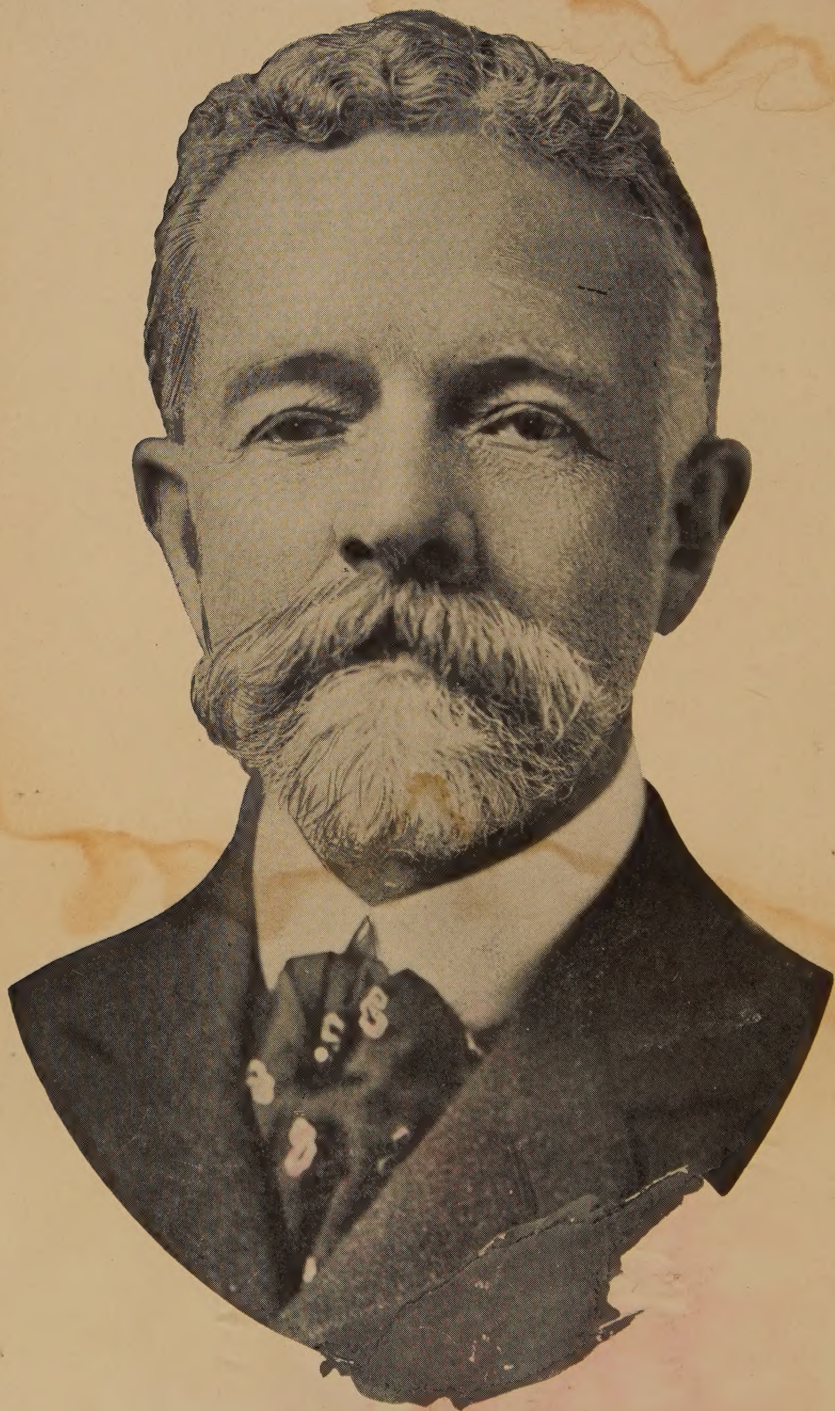


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N.C. Historical Commission

Publications

Nos. 11-15



HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE

The guest of the State Literary and Historical Association at its Twelfth Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ELEVENTH *and* TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETINGS

OF THE

STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

RALEIGH, N. C.

ELEVENTH ANNUAL SESSION

January 12, 1911

TWELFTH ANNUAL SESSION

November 27-28, 1911

Compiled by

CLARENCE POE

Secretary-Treasurer

Raleigh, N. C.

Edwards & Broughton Printing Co.

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Officers of the State Literary and Historical Association

1910-1911.

<i>President</i>	E. K. GRAHAM, Chapel Hill
<i>First Vice-President</i>	MRS. FRANCES FISHER TIERNAN, Salisbury
<i>Second Vice-President</i>	JULIUS C. MARTIN, Asheville
<i>Third Vice-President</i>	MISS EDITH ROYSTER, Raleigh
<i>Secretary-Treasurer</i>	CLARENCE POE, Raleigh

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

R. D. W. CONNOR.....	Raleigh
W. L. POTEAT.....	Wake Forest
T. P. HARRISON.....	West Raleigh
W. J. PEELE.....	Raleigh
EDWIN MIMS.....	Chapel Hill

1911-1912.

<i>President</i>	R. D. W. CONNOR, Raleigh
<i>First Vice-President</i>	W. P. FEW, Durham
<i>Second Vice-President</i>	MISS LIDA T. RODMAN, Washington
<i>Third Vice-President</i>	A. C. AVERY, Morganton
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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

E. K. GRAHAM.....	Chapel Hill
W. L. POTEAT.....	Wake Forest
T. P. HARRISON.....	West Raleigh
WM. K. BOYD.....	Durham
F. A. WOODARD.....	Wilson

PURPOSES OF THE ORGANIZATION.

"The collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history; the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establishment of an historical museum; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; the correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and the engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generation."

ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP—MEMBERSHIP DUES.

All persons interested in its purposes are invited to become members of the Association.

There are two classes of members: "Regular members," paying \$1 a year, and "Sustaining Members," paying \$5 a year.

PRESIDENTS OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

1900-1901.....	WALTER CLARK, Raleigh
1901-1902.....	HENRY G. CONNOR, Wilson
1902-1903.....	WILLIAM LOUIS POTEAT, Wake Forest
1903-1904.....	C. ALPHONSO SMITH, Chapel Hill
1904-1905.....	ROBERT W. WINSTON, Durham
1905-1906.....	CHARLES B. AYCOCK, Goldsboro
1906-1907.....	W. D. PRUDEN, Edenton; A. M. SCALES, Greensboro
1907-1908.....	ROBERT BINGHAM, Asheville
1908-1909.....	JUNIUS DAVIS, Wilmington
1909-1910.....	PLATT D. WALKER, Charlotte
1910-1911.....	EDWARD K. GRAHAM, Chapel Hill
1911-1912.....	R. D. W. CONNOR, Raleigh

AWARDS OF PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP.

- 1905—JOHN CHARLES MCNEILL, for poems later reprinted in book form as "Songs, Merry and Sad." (Presentation by Theodore Roosevelt.)
- 1906—EDWIN MIMS, for "Life of Sidney Lanier." (Presentation by Fabius H. Busbee.)
- 1907—KEMP PLUMMER BATTLE. "History of the University." (Presentation by Francis D. Winston.)
- 1908—SAMUEL A'COURT ASHE. "History of North Carolina." (Presentation by Thomas Nelson Page.)
- 1909—CLARENCE POE. "A Southerner in Europe." (Presentation by Ambassador James Bryce.)
- 1910—R. D. W. CONNOR. "Cornelius Harnett." (Presentation by T. W. Bickett.)
- 1911—ARCHIBALD HENDERSON. "Bernard Shaw." (Presentation by Hon. Lee S. Overman.)

The North Carolina Historical Commission

J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Chairman*, Raleigh.

W. J. PEELE, Raleigh.

D. H. HILL, Raleigh.

THOMAS M. PITTMAN, Henderson.

M. C. S. NOBLE, Chapel Hill.

R. D. W. CONNOR, *Secretary*, Raleigh.

Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association

THE Eleventh Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association was held in the Hall of the House of Representatives Thursday afternoon, January 12, 1911. First on the program was a "Review of the Historical Activities of the Year," by Mr. R. D. W. Connor, of the State Historical Commission.* Dr. Edwin Mims, Chairman of the Extension Committee, then made an address, saying in part:

Dr. Woodrow Wilson said at the sesquicentennial celebration at Princeton several years ago, "Of course, when all is said, it is not learning, but the spirit of service that will give a college place in the public annals of the nation." There is laid down upon us the compulsion of the National life. We should not keep aloof and closet ourselves while a nation is coming to its maturity. The words suggest at once the development of democracy and the responsibility of high institutions of learning in a democracy.

One of the most striking evidences of progress of the nineteenth century was the desire of the people for increased knowledge. Elementary schools, secondary schools, colleges and universities have not satisfied the craving of the people for continuous education. This desire for popularization of culture has been expressed in various forms of popular education—the movement for public libraries, organizations of clubs and well planned systematic extension lectures.

Corresponding with this increasing culture on the part of the public is the desire of high institutions of learning to be of service to the wider public than that found within the walls of those institutions. The University Extension movement in England, whereby Oxford and Cambridge have come into touch with many centers of English life, the adoption of the same ideas and methods by the University of Chicago, the University of Wisconsin, and more recently by Columbia and Harvard, all give evidence of an increase in coöperation between the public and high institutions of learning.

It may be admitted readily that the greatest service that a college does to a State is that of doing well and thoroughly the tasks demanded by its student body. The greatest service rendered by an individual teacher is that of the class room. Not all scholars are

*This paper is included in Bulletin No. 9 of the Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission: "The Third Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission." Members of the State Literary and Historical Association who desire a copy can obtain it by writing to Mr. R. D. W. Connor, Raleigh, N. C.

adapted to public work; men who have high ideals of research should be encouraged in every possible way—give their whole time and attention to laboratories and libraries, and yet in every college faculty there are men who are fitted by temperament, and by their desire to extend their influence, to engage in the work of a public nature. Such a man strives to make his ideas prevail in the community at large. If he is a man of science, he will do what he can to arouse the public to an appreciation of what science is and will lend his efforts to the development of the scientific methods and spirit; if he is a student of history he will not be satisfied unless he has something to do with the interpretation of history for many of his fellow citizens, who may be college graduates or who may never have had the advantages of such a training.

No college or university in the State is prepared to undertake extension work on any large scale; working together through this Association, they may arrange for courses of lectures in five or six centers in the State. Public libraries, high schools and clubs of the community can work together for the successful launching of such courses. Several college men have already agreed to give series of three or four lectures and several communities have already expressed a desire for such lectures. By concentration of all the organizations that are interested in the advancement of the community, real service may be rendered to the commonwealth. Such work will be of the greatest benefit to the institutions themselves.

Such a movement must go slowly at first, but if it succeeds in a few places, it will soon succeed throughout the whole State. The public work that is being done now in more or less a haphazard way by college men will be crystallized and made systematic. The results will be disappointing at first, but their ultimate effect can not be questioned.

Dr. D. H. Hill then presented the Bibliography of the year, as printed elsewhere. Following Dr. Hill's paper, Attorney-General T. W. Bickett, on behalf of the Committee, announced the award of the Patterson Memorial Cup and presented it to the winner, Mr. R. D. W. Connor, whose "Cornelius Harnett" had won this well merited recognition. In presenting the cup Mr. Bickett said:

The learned Paul was intensely human when he gave to the Corinthians the injunction, "So run that ye may obtain the prize." The prize, whether it be a crown of laurel or a cup of gold, has always appealed to the imagination of mankind and elicited its supremest endeavors. A fairly accurate appraisement of the character of a people may be made by a consideration of those excellencies

for which they offer rewards. The perception of virtue is next door neighbor to its possession. Therefore, in the establishment of this golden trophy, Mr. Patterson has conferred upon the State a twofold blessing: It blesses the men who are incited to noble effort, and, in much greater degree, it blesses all the people by its beautiful emphasis upon the wisdom of the "Children of Light."

Sir, this cup comes to you with a noble lineage. Its chain of title is of pure gold. The first link in that chain is the "Song of a Caged Mocking Bird" by that sweet and gentle spirit, who was brother in race and soul to the great Scotch bard, and whose early going away made those of us who loved him feel that

"The unfinished window in Aladdin's tower
Unfinished must remain."

The last link in this golden chain was wrought by the most remarkable farm product of this generation, a young man whose book and whose life is dedicated to the intellectual and financial emancipation of his own people.

It is a keen personal pleasure to me to present you this tangible evidence of victory. From the day that your first historical paper appeared in the press I have felt that we had a true historian in our midst, one able to see things in their just proportion and assign events their proper place in the development of the State.

It is eminently appropriate that this cup should be awarded to one whose patriotic efforts have rescued and preserved for future writers such a wealth of historical material.

Your "Life of Cornelius Harnett" should be read in every home in North Carolina, and it is to be hoped that this recognition of its merits will result in its wide distribution among our people.

I congratulate you, sir, upon having worked your way into such a goodly company. May this cup be to you the "Open Sesame" to these treasure-houses of the mind and heart where "words fitly spoken are like apples of gold in pictures of silver."

President Walker announced as the Committee on Nomination of Officers, Messrs. F. A. Woodard, of Wilson; Albert L. Cox, of Raleigh; George Rountree, of Wilmington; Chief Justice Walter Clark, of Raleigh, and Dr. Thomas P. Harrison, of Chapel Hill.

As a Committee on Resolutions he named Dr. R. T. Vann, W. J. Peele, Marshall DeLancey Haywood, Capt. M. O. Sherrill, and Dr. D. H. Hill.

Hon. Richard H. Battle, as Chairman of the Committee to look after the erection of a marble statue of the State's great

son, Zebulon B. Vance, in the Capitol at Washington, reported that by resolution of the General Assembly of 1907 the statue was to be erected out of funds of the State Treasury not otherwise appropriated in 1911; that it was hoped that this would be done, but in view of the empty treasury, the Governor and Council of State had incurred no expense, but the Governor has said that he would make some recommendations and the assurance had been given that steps will soon be taken to carry out the resolution. The report was adopted.

For the Committee on the Practicability of Marking Historic Sites Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood reported one meeting of the committee; that no funds are in hand, and that the work is being done by local associations; that the committee be discharged, the State being too large to be kept under supervision. The report was adopted.

Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, of Winston-Salem, extended on behalf of the Wachovia Historical Society an invitation to the Association to meet next in Winston-Salem.

President Walker expressed thanks for the invitation and stated that under the by-laws this would be decided by the executive committee.

RESOLUTION REGARDING TRAVELING LIBRARIES.

The following resolution, offered by Prof. Edward K. Graham, was unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The North Carolina Library Commission, since its creation in April, 1909, has constantly striven to stimulate interest and foster development in North Carolina libraries; and

WHEREAS, It is at present endeavoring to secure legislation providing for the operation of a system of free traveling libraries through which library facilities may be carried to groups of rural taxpayers, to rural high schools, and to small towns not at present possessing public libraries: therefore, be it

Resolved, That the State Literary and Historical Association commend the North Carolina Library Commission in its endeavors to secure the necessary legislation for the operation of such a system of traveling libraries, and that it coöperate in such ways as may seem best with the Commission in its efforts to this end.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The following report of the Committee on Local Historical Societies was received and adopted:

The Committee on Local Historical Societies recommend that such local societies as have ten or more members and charge annual dues of at least \$1.00 may be affiliated with the State Literary and Historical Association upon the annual payment of fifty cents for each member. The members of the local society in such a case to become members of the Association without further dues.

NEED OF A FIREPROOF LIBRARY.

The Committee on Resolutions also presented the following report, which was adopted without a dissenting vote:

WHEREAS, The State of North Carolina has in her public records, her State Library, Supreme Court Library, Museum, Hall of History, and in other collections, invaluable public property constantly exposed to destruction on account of being housed in inadequate buildings, totally unprotected from fire; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the State Literary and Historical Association, that it is the sense of this Association that there is an imperative demand for the erection by the State of a fireproof building for the better protection of such valuable public property and for the better accommodation of the several departments of the State government.

Another resolution was passed as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Association that the State should purchase the painting lately finished by Mr. Jaques Busbee—the landing of the English on Roanoke Island in 1584 and their reception by the Indian Queen.

At the evening session President Platt D. Walker, of the State Literary and Historical Association, presented his annual address on "The Mission of the Association." (See page 15.) At the conclusion of his address President Walker introduced Hon. Thomas J. Jarvis, ex-Governor of North Carolina, who made a notable and eloquent appeal for the erection of a fireproof State Library and Hall of Records, a movement inaugurated by the Association several years ago and which it has prosecuted with unflagging zeal.

At the conclusion of Governor Jarvis's speech Rev. C. J. Wilson moved a rising vote of thanks to the distinguished speaker, which was heartily and unanimously given.

The selection of officers for ensuing year then followed, resulting in the following elections:

President—E. K. GRAHAM, Chapel Hill.

First Vice-President—MRS. FRANCES FISHER TIERNAN, of Salisbury (Christian Reid).

Second Vice-President—JULIUS C. MARTIN, Asheville.

Third Vice-President—MISS EDITH ROYSTER, Raleigh.

Secretary and Treasurer—CLARENCE POE, Raleigh.

The Association then adjourned.

Annual Address of the President

DELIVERED BY HON. PLATT D. WALKER, IN THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES, RALEIGH, THURSDAY EVENING,
JANUARY 12, 1911.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I must first return to you my cordial thanks for the honor which you conferred upon me by my election to preside over such an illustrious body at the annual meeting. When I recall the names of those who have occupied this position in the past it increases my sense of gratitude to you that I should have been considered a worthy successor to those who have filled this office so gracefully and with such rare ability.

It is expected that I say something concerning the great object or aim of this Association, which is to encourage and further the literary spirit in our State and to stimulate our people to greater endeavor in historical research. It seems to have been regarded, and rightly so, by those who took part in the organization of the Association, that a matter of the first importance is the preservation of our State literature and history, so that what has already been achieved or gained should not be lost by our failing to provide for the care and protection of our literary and historical records, and the vast collection of books and valuable material in our State libraries and museum which can not easily be restored if destroyed.

The work of preservation must, of course, be undertaken by the State. The value of this property, which belongs to the State, is sufficient of itself to induce the early adoption of such effective measures as will secure it against the hazards which now constantly surround it and threaten it with destruction. We can not appeal too often or too much to the representatives of the people to provide some safe repository for the many records and volumes, the natural, scientific and literary curiosities which have been collected by the well directed efforts of her faithful and devoted sons and daughters in their patriotic endeavor to rescue from oblivion all that has made her history glorious in the past, and illustrates her achievements in science, art and lit-

erature, her renown in war, and her wealth in the hidden treasures of the earth. "The roots of the present lie deep in the past, and nothing in the past is dead to the man who would learn how the present came to be what it is."

This sentiment, chosen as one of the mottoes of your Historical Commission, expresses in neat and eloquent phrase the dominant spirit and purpose of this body. It warns us that we can not forget what has been done in the past, if we would successfully perform the duties of the hour, and that our present development in all departments of intellectual effort is but the result of the slow but sure process of evolution from the beginning. We do not live in the present alone, for all we are and all we have gained in intellectual and material things have come to us by gradual accretions—the growth and fruitage of seed sown as the years have come and gone. A wise policy, therefore, dictates that nothing should be lost by a failure to safeguard the records of past achievements. The cost of preserving them will be far less than the cost of replacing them, even if this could be done. It is therefore well to sound the note of warning again and again until it is heeded, and the hope we have so often expressed has been realized.

There is no reason why our people should not rank with the best in literary culture and attainments. The rapid extension of educational advantages and facilities and the improved methods of instruction, with our University and colleges annually contributing to the diffusion of knowledge and learning through those who, after thorough training according to the highest standards of scholarship, enter the professional and other callings well equipped for the life work which they have undertaken, these and other accessories have caused a deeper and livelier interest to be taken in the advancement of our people in their literary pursuits and ambitions, and for this reason more has been accomplished in recent years than ever before. The early history of the State has not only been made easily accessible to the reader, but many questions of historical interest have been presented and discussed in attractive style by those whose learning and scholarship eminently qualify them to write upon such subjects.

The incentive to still greater effort in the field of literature and historical investigation has been constantly afforded by this Association, and the results so far accomplished give promise that the purposes for which it was organized will eventually be fully realized. A vast area has been left unexplored and awaits the coming of the diligent student and scholar to discover and reveal, in song and story, its rich and varied treasures. In these strenuous times, when the thoughts of men are centered on the acquisition of material things, when the State has increased by rapid strides in wealth and population, it is encouraging to think that educational progress and development have kept even pace with this steady growth in other directions, and that the scholar has made his influence felt in as great a degree as those who led in the march to industrial supremacy. Indeed, to him is due, in large measure, the credit of preparing the thinkers and workers in the industrial world by mental training and enlightenment for the solution of the great problems of this busy and restless life. The higher the order of intelligence, the more readily does the mind grasp these intricate questions, and the more intelligently and skillfully unravels them. One of the first duties of the State to the citizen is to educate him, to place within his reach every facility for mental and moral development and improvement. The more faithfully and zealously she performs this duty the richer will be her reward in all things that make for the greatness and glory of the Commonwealth. The growth of a State, except, perhaps, that which is adventitious, is measured always by the growth of her citizens in capacity and fitness for the successful performance of their duties, whether in science, art, or literature, in the trades or the professions. We need have no concern for what those who have preceded us have done, for in every crisis of the State, whether in peace or war, they have shed nothing but lustre and renown upon her history. When we recall the deeds of the Revolutionary patriots, of those who, in the early days of the republic, were confronted by problems never before presented to the wit of man, we have reason to be more than proud of the part which our noble and distinguished men performed, not only in the making, but in the maintenance of our institutions. Their

deeds deserve to be perpetuated, and while we are making history even now, we should sacredly preserve the records of their achievements, for as has been so well said: "A people who have not the pride to record their history, will not long have the virtue to make history worth recording."

In conclusion, therefore, let me urge upon you, in the language of your constitution, the collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history, the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establishment of an historical museum; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; the vindication of the State from misrepresentation, and a firm and courageous assertion of her rightful position in history, and finally the engendering and cultivating of an intelligent, healthy State pride among the people. If we perform well the task thus allotted to us we will receive, I am sure, the aid and encouragement of the State in our work, and in return we will have rendered to her an incomparable service.

North Carolina Must Preserve its Historical Records

ADDRESS BY EX-GOVERNOR THOMAS J. JARVIS, AT THE TENTH ANNUAL
SESSION OF THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, IN
THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AT
RALEIGH, JANUARY 12, 1911.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am very much touched at the very kind manner in which I have been presented to you and the warm and cordial manner in which you have received that presentation.

As I sat here looking over this audience and around this hall, I have had a struggle with myself to recall my wandering thoughts from the past and concentrate them upon the duty that now lies before me.

This hall has been the scene of so much of my early labors in behalf of my State and her people that instance after instance came trooping back to me. There is one which so much marks the changes that have taken place in the political and social conditions in North Carolina within my recollection that I can not refrain from mentioning it. In that memorable Legislature of '68 and '69, when so much of mischief was done for our State, I had the distinguished honor of representing the county of Tyrrell. My seat in that body was the seat now being occupied by my dear friend Mr. Richard H. Battle. Sitting immediately behind me was a colored man, named Price, from the county of New Hanover, representing the great city of Wilmington. I had noticed him several times, but had paid no particular attention to him. One day I felt a gentle touch on my shoulder and turning, I saw this colored man. He said, "Captain, you do not remember me, do you?" I said, "No, Price, I do not." "Don't you remember," he asked, "the good dinners you used to eat during the war in Lieutenant Price's camp?" "Yes," I replied. Then he said, "I was Colonel Price's cook, and I cooked those dinners for you"; and then added: "Captain Jarvis, when I was cooking for you and Colonel Price you never thought that you and I would be sitting here on an equality, making laws for North Carolina, did you?"

I could talk for an hour of instance after instance that have come under my observation in this hall, but I must desist.

I have a broad field, as announced by the President of this Society, to cover this evening, and you may at the present be just a little bit in doubt as to what I am going to talk about, but I will promise you this—and it is the only promise I will make—that if you will be patient and follow me you will not have any doubt when I get through what I have talked about.

The people of North Carolina have been history makers but not history writers. They have been doers of great things, but they have been criminally careless about the writing of the records and preserving them. I propose, with the permission of your President, to narrate just two or three little instances that illustrate this fact. In 1879, soon after I had the honor of being inaugurated Governor of North Carolina, Col. F. A. Olds, then the Quartermaster-General of the State Guard, who was then, as he is now, always trying to do something for the State, came to me one day and said, "Governor, would you be willing for me to go down to the old arsenal, clean it out, throw away all the old *debris* in it, and fix up the building for the State Guard to preserve the ammunition and arms?" I said, "Fred, I don't know about that; I don't know what is there, but we will walk over there and see." We went into the old arsenal and there found a large number of old knap-sacks, old military clothing of the Kirk-Holden war, large piles of old papers; and there, too, were ballot boxes in which the people had voted at the three-days' election in April, 1868. These ballot boxes had been sent to Charleston, S. C., the votes counted there by General Canby, and then the boxes had been sent back here and put away in that old arsenal. In addition to the old military accouterments and ballot boxes there was more than a wagon load of old papers, documents and manuscripts of all sorts. I said to Colonel Olds, "Fred, get Colonel Saunders to come down here with a servant to help him. You and he can examine these records; whatever he says is worthless you can throw away or destroy." We spoke to Colonel Saunders about it and he consented. Will you believe me when I tell you in that old pile of *debris* they found the original manuscript copy of the Journal of the Halifax Convention, which formed our first State Con-

stitution? You may be curious to know how it got there. I happen to know that.

In 1868 a man named Ashley was elected Superintendent of Public Instruction. He was assigned to the room on the third floor of the west wing of the Capitol. He did not like this room for his office, and he did not want to remain there. At that time the Supreme Court occupied the two rooms now occupied by the Secretary of State, the Secretary of State had the larger of the two rooms now occupied by the Auditor, and the Auditor the smaller one. The Governor and his Council made an order to move Ashley down on the first floor in the office occupied by the Secretary of State, to move the Secretary of State to the Supreme Court room, and to move the Supreme Court up to the garret to the room occupied by Mr. Ashley. Judge Pearson and his associates were very indignant. They appealed to the Legislature, a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives to assign the garret room to Ashley and to allow the court to remain where it was originally, and for twenty-four hours a fierce conflict went on in this hall between the friends of the Supreme Court and the friends of the Educational Department. Finally the Democrats took the side of the Supreme Court and passed the resolution. While that conflict was going on up here, Ashley was busy down in those two offices below moving everything and trying to get possession before we could pass the resolution, and the rotunda of the Capitol was piled up with wagon loads of the records, which had been moved out of the office of the Secretary of State. And after we had passed the resolution, instead of putting those records back where they belonged, they gathered them up and put them in that old arsenal.

Now you, gentlemen of the Legislature, will say that that was bad. Pardon me if I say that you will be just a little less negligent of your duty if you permit the records of North Carolina to be much longer improperly kept over yonder in those fire-traps, the Supreme Court and Agricultural buildings. I say you will be but a little less negligent than they were in 1868!

There is another instance that I want to mention. I suppose there is no lover of North Carolina who does not glory in the fact that the State had a loyal, faithful son by the name of Wil-

liam L. Saunders, who compiled and edited the Colonial Records of our State. Let me tell you how he came to undertake that great work. After he had found that old manuscript copy of the Journal of the Halifax Congress down in the old arsenal, he said to me one day, "Governor, isn't there some way that can be devised to enable me to collect the Colonial Records of the Colony of North Carolina and get them together so as to preserve them?" I replied, "I don't know, Saunders, but I will think about it. Come tomorrow and we will talk this matter over." He came and I said, "I will tell you what to do. Write a simple little resolution to this effect: 'That the trustees of the State Library are authorized to take such steps as in their judgment may be necessary to collect and publish the Colonial Records of the Colony of North Carolina.'" Well, he wrote it. I sent for two or three members of the Legislature, handed it to them, and asked them to have that resolution passed. You will find it in the Public Laws—a little resolution it is, in length, but no man can tell how much it cost to carry it out, or the intrinsic, the eternal, the everlasting value of the work now that it is done!

Of course, the Legislature did not inquire into the magnitude of the work or the probable cost, but they were willing to trust the trustees of the State Library, who happened to be myself, Saunders, and Scarborough. After it was passed I said to Colonel Saunders, "I have plenty of my own work to do. You look after this and when you want a meeting of the trustees call it, and understand you always have two votes, yours and mine." And he did. For years and years he worked with a love and a loyalty that few men have ever given to their State. Wounded seriously in the war, disabled from walking by rheumatism contracted in camp, rolled about in a chair, still you could go to his office or to his room and always find him with a pile of those papers around him, going over them and compiling them. He got access to the archives of England and France, through our State Department, and the ministers of these countries accredited to Washington, and whenever the mails brought a batch of those records from abroad or elsewhere, his joy was boundless. He went through them with devotion like one reading a letter from a loved one. In the latter years it was a race with Saunders and disease, but he was spared to complete that work, and left to his

State a monument such as no other man has left. I want to stand here tonight and say that North Carolina never had a more loyal or a more faithful son than the man who compiled those Colonial Records.

The Agricultural Department had been organized, but it had no home, no place to stay. The old hotel property on the corner of Edenton and Halifax streets was advertised for sale. At that time the Governor was Chairman of the Board of Agriculture, and also Chairman of the Executive Committee. I thought the State ought to own that property, so I sent for the members of the Executive Committee—Dr. Kemp P. Battle and Col. T. M. Holt. They came and we bought the property. We had the title taken to the State and for all that property where that old building stands and where the Supreme Court building now stands we paid simply the sum of \$13,000. We got an option on the balance of that block, which lies back to the other street, for \$7,000. I sent a message to the Legislature informing that body of the purchase and of the then existing option on the balance, and earnestly urged that it be bought. Don't you think they ought to have done it? Don't you think it was very unwise not to have done it? Gentlemen, they did not act any more unwisely than you will be charged with acting if you neglect the opportunity of preserving the records of your State! If a fire should come and consume those records people will say that you acted as unwisely as you are now ready to say your predecessors did at that time!

Now, since we bought that property conditions have changed very much. The State has grown wonderfully in wealth, in business, and in population. New departments have been added to the State government. We then were just beginning to develop the Agricultural Department. The Corporation Commission has since been organized; we now have the Labor Commissioner, the Insurance Commissioner, the Historical Commission, and besides the records of the State have piled up and piled up until every available space in all the offices is now filled, and a large part of them is in places that are subject to be burned and destroyed at any time. Your Supreme Court Library, as I have said, was housed in two small rooms. Go over there now and look at the library and see how it has grown, until today it

is one of the very best law libraries in the South, if not in all this Union. Then, ladies and gentlemen, the State Library was contained in that little room up there in the northeast corner of this Capitol. That was large enough then, but since then the library has increased and multiplied until you now have one of the best libraries of any State in this Union. Here, then, are two libraries that can not be replaced by \$100,000, libraries that money could not buy again, because they are not to be had. There they are, exposed to danger of loss by fire. And then all the offices of the State government are overcrowded. The Executive officers of this State have not room in which to discharge their duties properly. Go into the office of the Secretary of State, of the Auditor or in any of the offices here, and you will find that the records of these offices have multiplied and multiplied until there is hardly room for an extra chair in which you can be seated. Of course, the officers can not do their best work under these circumstances.

Now, I say these conditions ought to be changed. The change can only come through the General Assembly of North Carolina. Two ways have been suggested to remedy this. Now, in what I am going to say I want it understood that I am speaking for myself alone. While I am speaking by the kind invitation of this Society, still I may have some views which its members do not endorse. I am speaking for myself alone. I say two ways have been suggested to remedy the conditions I have described—one to enlarge this Capitol, the other to erect a new building. Now, speaking for myself and myself alone, I am opposed to ever touching this Capitol. (Great applause.) It is the one beautiful piece of architecture erected by our fathers. It is the one beautiful great achievement left that links us to the past. There is nothing superior to it. I say let it stand here, and stand forever, as a monument to the men who built it. But there is another reason why I am opposed to changing the Capitol. If you were to enlarge it so as to make room in it for all that is needed, you can not do it without ruining its architectural beauty. This building is just as large as this square will justify. To put a very large building on this square would be out of all proportion of harmony, and would destroy the beauty of both building and square. I say let the square and the building

stand just as they are. Now if that is correct—and I am very glad to see that what I have said has such cordial approval of this audience—then the only other remedy is to erect a new building. Now what I would do if it were left to me is this:

I would take from that square over there the Agricultural Building and the Supreme Court Building. I would clean them off entirely, and upon that square I would put the handsomest State building in the South. In it I would provide room for all the offices and departments of the State, for the Supreme Court, the Supreme Court and the State Libraries, and for the State Museum. I would move everything out of this building and let this building stand here for the legislative department. I would provide in the new building a Supreme Court room that would be amply sufficient for all the growth and purposes of our Supreme Court for ages to come; a library building for our State Library that would be sufficient and ample for ages to come, an executive office for the Governor that would be commensurate with the dignity of that great office. Go down to the Governor's office now; you find no reception room. There is in his private secretary's office only room enough for two or three chairs. So I say, without going into details, I would make in the new building provision for all the executive offices that the State has or is likely to have.

But you would ask me, How are you going to pay for it? That is very simple to me. There are some things that I am an old foggy about, and I can't help it to save my life. I was born that way. I have lived that way, and I expect to die that way. One is that I do not believe that any government has any right to tax the coming generations for its daily support. I think the government of North Carolina ought to live within its means. I think it ought to levy taxes enough upon the property of the State to meet all its current expenses in the way of paying its officers and supporting its institutions of all kinds. I repeat, I do not think that we have any right to levy tribute upon the coming generations for our daily expenses and support, nor, on the other hand, do I think that we have a right to levy burdens upon this generation to pay for things to be enjoyed by the coming generations. I think one is just as bad as the other. Now, when you come to analyze it, and sift it down into plain

language, that means this—that for the support of our institutions and to meet the current expenses of the State government, we ought to do that out of the taxes we levy and collect out of the people; but when it comes to permanent buildings, I don't care what they are, when it comes to erecting buildings that are to be used and enjoyed by the coming generations, those generations ought to help pay for them.

Now may I indulge in another little instance to show that this is no new theory of mine? If you will look into the laws of 1883 you will find a law something like this: "That if in the opinion of the Governor and his council at the beginning of 1884, there is money enough in the treasury to run the State for that year, no taxes should be collected." At that time we had in the treasury \$400,000 or \$500,000 surplus, and as a result of other legislation we had reason to believe that we should get \$600,000 more. So we began the year of 1884 with \$1,000,000 surplus in the treasury. Some men wanted to use it to buy up the bonds of the State. I said: "No, those bonds do not mature for 25 or 30 years. Let's not invest that money in them. Let those people take care of that themselves, but let us use this money this year. For days and days we fought that question out, and finally adopted the suggestion I made, and a thing happened in 1884 that is not likely ever to happen again, there was not one penny of tax collected in 1884 from property to run the State government. I refer to that to show that this is no new theory of mine. So I say when we come to erect buildings that are to be enjoyed by us and the coming generations also, let the coming generations help pay for them. I suppose it would cost nearly a million dollars. I am going to assume it can not be done for less. I say, issue one million dollars of bonds and build it.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have followed the Scriptural injunction: "What one of you that desire to erect a building would not sit down and first count the cost." I want to tell you now what it is going to cost annually. Issue one million dollars of bonds at four per cent, the annual interest will be \$40,000. The census states there are over two millions of people in North Carolina, so if you will distribute the annual expense of this building out among the people, every man, woman, and

child, it would be less than two cents apiece. But you say it can not be done that way; taxes must be levied on the property. All right. The Auditor tells us that the assessed value of the property at its low rate of assessment is \$613,000,000. On this the tax would be two-thirds of one cent. On \$1,000 worth of property it would be 6 2-3 cents; on \$10,000, 66 2-3 cents. A man who gives in \$10,000 worth of property for taxation would be paying 66 2-3 cents to preserve and keep safe the valuable property of his State. On the \$100,000 of property he would pay \$6.66 2-3, and I suppose if a man gives in \$100,000 worth of property at the present rate of valuation, it is pretty safe to assume he is worth a quarter of a million. So that the citizen with a quarter of a million dollars would be paying to preserve the records and property of his State but \$6.66 2-3 a year.

Now, gentlemen, there it is. I have given you a low and imperfect estimate of the value of the property to be preserved on the one hand, and the actual cost to the taxpayer on the other hand to preserve it. What will you do about it? The Literary and Historical Association, presided over by my distinguished friend, is at work. The Historical Commission joins them, and the Historical Departments in the University and the colleges unite with them in rescuing and preserving the precious records of our State. The women are organizing their societies to aid in the holy crusade to honor the deeds of our fathers. Our people are stirring themselves as never before in collecting the records of our ancestors, and they are being piled up and piled up and piled up. Will the Legislature alone hesitate in the discharge of its duty? Can it hesitate to provide a safe place for the keeping of the records of the State? I come, ladies and gentlemen, to join you with all the fervor and earnestness of my soul in pressing upon this Legislature the importance of at least making the beginning, and I trust that there will be no conflicts as to the details or anything that shall retard the work, but that every man in and out of the Legislature, who believes that something should be done to preserve this property of ours, unite in their efforts to make a start. It seems to me it would be well to appoint a commission of good, practical men who can be trusted, and leave it to them to work out the details for the erection of such a building.

There are two things I would not have put in that building. I would not have any cheap gingerbread work, or any graft about it. I would erect a building there that for its simple grandeur should be an honor to North Carolina and the pride of all her people.

Americans feel and talk differently from any other people in the world. Some years ago upon one of our National anniversaries in one of the harbors on our Atlantic coast, the warships of all civilized nations of the earth assembled, and men from all the corners of the earth came to see them. Those great warships moved up in majestic splendor to be viewed by the great multitude. When the ships of England passed by the Englishmen standing there said, "There go the ships of his Majesty the King of England." When the German ships passed by the Germans standing there said, "There go the ships of his Majesty, the Emperor of Germany." When the Spanish ships passed by the Spaniards said, "There go the ships of his Majesty, the King of Spain." By and by when the American ships came along, an American, a little fellow from the mountains of Western North Carolina, cried out, "There go our ships." Everything here in America is ours. It is our Governor, it is our Supreme Court. I would have such a building erected in this Capital City of ours that when the people of North Carolina come here to attend the inauguration of their Governor, when the people come to attend the great State Fair, and see that building, there would not be a man from the ocean to the mountains who would not say with pride, "There is our State building."

Ladies and gentlemen, North Carolina is entitled to the very best of everything; she is amply able to have the best, and I appeal to her loyal sons and daughters to decree that she shall have the best.

North Carolina Bibliography of the Year

PAPER PRESENTED BY DR. D. H. HILL AT AFTERNOON SESSION,
JANUARY 12, 1911.

As far as I have been able to collect them the North Carolina books for the year number 37 titles. These may be grouped as follows: I, History; II, Biography; III, Poetry; IV, Fiction; V, Religious Books; VI, Text Books; VII, Miscellaneous.

I. HISTORY.

1. Reprint of Bricknell's "Natural History of North Carolina," printed in 1737; 417 pages. Edited by J. Bryan Grimes.

2. Abstract of North Carolina Wills from 1663 to 1789; 428 pages, and also alphabetical list of names. Edited by J. Bryan Grimes.

3. History of New Hanover County, by Alfred Moore Waddell; cloth; illustrated; 232 pages.

4. Caldwell County in the Great War of 1861-5; illustrated; cloth, 67 pages. Edited by G. W. F. Harper.

5. The James Sprunt Historical Publications, Vol. 9, continued: (a) Federalism in North Carolina, by H. M. Wagstaff; (b) Letters of William Barry Grove. Edited by H. M. Wagstaff.

6. The Booklet, edited by Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, published in its four numbers this year some valuable historical papers. Mrs. E. E. Moffitt has contributed 36 biographical sketches to these volumes.

7. England and the French Revolution, by W. T. Loprade; seven chapters; cloth; 230 pages. Johns Hopkins Press.

II. BIOGRAPHY.

1. Cornelius Harnett, by R. D. W. Connor; cloth; 11 chapters; 209 pages. Edwards & Broughton Publishing Company.

2. The Bishops of North Carolina, by Marshall DeLancey Haywood; cloth; illustrated; 270 pages. A. Williams & Co., Raleigh.

3. Autobiography of Brantley York, edited by William K. Boyd for the John Lawson Monographs of the Trinity College Historical Society; cloth; 139 pages.

4. Julia Jackson Christian: A Memorial Sketch of General Stonewall Jackson's Daughter, by Mrs. Mary Anna Jackson; cloth; illustrated; 57 pages. Stone & Barringer Company.

5. Franklin Plato Eller and John Carlton Eller: A Memorial Volume, by J. B. Hubbell; illustrated; cloth; 245 pages.

6. Eugene Morehead Armfield: A Memorial Volume, by George F. Kirby; 46 pages.

III. POETRY.

1. Leaves of Life, by Samuel Harley Lyle, Jr.; cloth; 70 poems; 90 pages. The McGregor Publishing Company, Athens, Ga.

2. Gates of Twilight, by Henry E. Harman; cloth; illustrated; 33 poems; 134 pages. The Stone & Barringer Publishing Company, Charlotte.

3. Songs of the Quiet Hour, by Mary Hoyland Livermore; paper cover; 50 pages. The Edwards & Broughton Printing Company.

IV. FICTION.

1. Chaney's Stratagem, by Mrs. Harriet Courtney Pinnix; cloth; 314 pages. C. M. Clark Publishing Company, New York.

2. Tar Heel Tales, by H. E. C. Bryant; cloth; illustrated; 18 stories; 218 pages. The Stone & Barringer Company, Charlotte.

3. The Breed and the Pasture, by J. L. Chambers; cloth. The Stone & Barringer Company, Charlotte.

4. Bildad Akers, by Thomas N. Ivey; cloth; 18 chapters; 205 pages. Mutual Publishing Company, Raleigh.

5. Strength of the Weak, by Mrs. M. B. Thacker; 12 mo. Broadway Publishing Company, New York.

V. RELIGIOUS BOOKS.

1. The Indispensable Book, by William Walter Moore, now of Union Seminary; cloth; 114 pages. Fleming H. Revell & Co., New York.

2. Thoughts Promotive of the Higher Life, by Wiley Good-

man Riddick; cloth; 49 chapters; 279¹ pages. Edwards & Broughton Printing Company.

3. Lectures on the Book of Revelation, by W. C. Nowell; cloth; 191 pages. Edwards & Broughton Printing Company.

VI. TEXT BOOKS.

1. The Howell Primer, by Logan D. Howell; cloth; 127 pages. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge.

2. Reading in Public Schools, by Thomas H. Briggs and L. D. Coffman, 25 chapters; 274 pages. Row, Peterson & Co., Chicago.

3. Patillo's Geographical Catechism, a reprint of the Rev. Henry Patillo's book which was published in 1796. This book, consisting of 62 pages, was edited by N. W. Walker and M. C. S. Noble for the University Reprint Series.

4. Diseases of Economic Plants by Frank Lincoln Stevens and John G. Hill; illustrated; 513 pages. Macmillan Company.

5. Our Republic, a United States History for grammar grades, by J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton and J. A. C. Chandler; cloth; 500 pages. Riley & Sadler, publishers.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Interpreters of Life and the Modern Spirit, by Archibald Henderson; cloth; illustrated; 8 vo. Duckworth & Co., London.

2. Race Distinctions in American Law, by Gilbert T. Stephenson; cloth; 12 chapters; 388 pages. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

3. The Lantern of Diogenes, by N. B. Herring. E. M. Uzzell & Co., Raleigh.

4. The Jew a Negro, by Arthur T. Abernethy; cloth; 110 pages. Dixie Publishing Company, Moravian Falls.

5. David G. McDuffie's Discovery of Natural Cause for the Variation of the Magnetic Needle of the Compass, edited by W. A. Guthrie; cloth; 36 pages. Seeman, Durham.

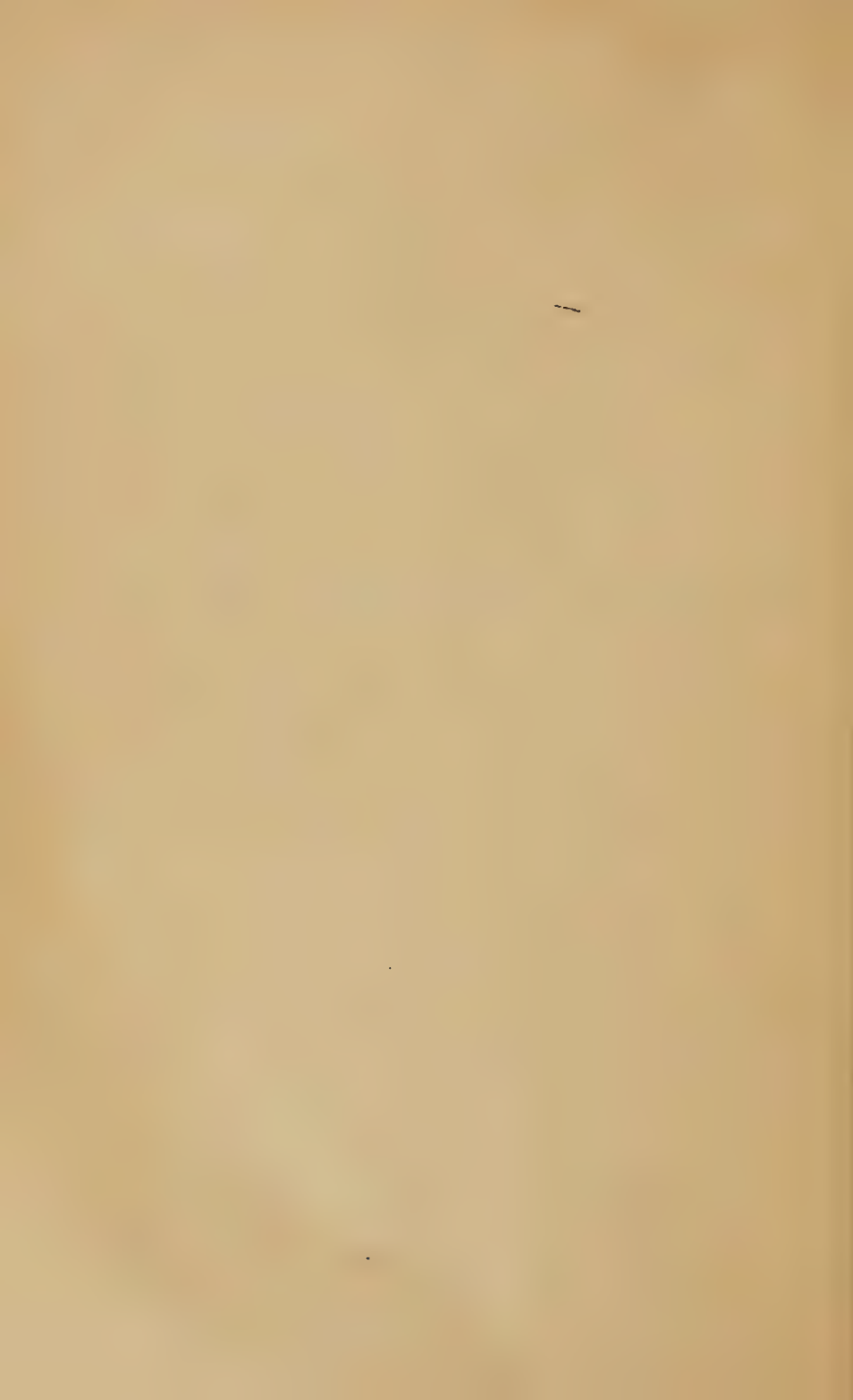
6. Military Topography, by C. O. Sherrill; cloth; illustrated; maps; 346 pages.

7. Idealism in Education, by Herman Harrell Horne; cloth; 5 chapters; 183 pages. Macmillan Company, New York.

8. Twenty volumes Annotated Reprints of the Supreme Court Reports, by Chief Justice Walter Clark.



Minutes of Twelfth Annual Meeting



Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association

THE Twelfth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association, the first session of which was held in Raleigh's beautiful new Auditorium Monday evening, November 27, 1911, proved to be the most notable in the entire history of the organization, both from the standpoint of attendance and interest.

The opening prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. I. McK. Pittenger, of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Raleigh, N. C., after which President Edward K. Graham delivered the annual address, his subject being "Prosperity and Patriotism." This address is published in full elsewhere in this report.

Following the address of the President came a musical selection by the band of the State School for the Blind, after which President Graham introduced Dr. C. Alphonso Smith, a former President of the State Literary and Historical Association, who has since achieved distinction at the University of Virginia and as Roosevelt Professor in the University of Berlin. In introducing Dr. Smith President Graham said:

It is my pleasure to present rather than introduce a former President of the Association; a citizen of this State, who lived and worked with us, who loved us and was greatly loved by us. Since he left us the merit of his scholarship has carried him as ambassador to the highest court of the world's learning and there fixed him securely as a permanent figure in the world's affairs. However successfully North Carolina succeeds in concealing her regret at the departure of her men of distinction, she makes no effort to conceal her happiness at having them return, and so to you, sir, to whom we trust we shall ever be "mine own people," our hearts in strength of brothers' welcome bid you welcome home—Dr. C. Alphonso Smith of the University of Virginia.

Dr. Smith's subject was "What Should a State History for the Public Schools Contain?" This address will also be found in full elsewhere in this volume.

Following Dr. Smith's address Mrs. Horace Dowell sang "Prayer Recit and Aria from *Der Freischutz*," Miss Sadie Duncan accompanying her at the piano.

The evening session was brought to a close with the feature that probably excites keener interest as a rule than any other part of the annual program—the presentation of the Patterson Memorial Cup, awarded each year to “that resident of the State who, during the twelve months from September 1st of the previous year to September 1st of the year of the award, has displayed, either in prose or poetry, without regard to its length, the greatest excellence and highest literary skill and genius.” Senator Lee S. Overman, of Salisbury, presented the report for the Committee, which consists of “the President of the State Literary and Historical Association, the occupants of the chairs of English Literature at the University of North Carolina, at Davidson College, at Wake Forest College, and at the State A. and M. College at Raleigh, and of the chairs of History at the University of North Carolina and at Trinity College.”

It was no surprise to the audience when Senator Overman announced that the cup had been awarded to Dr. Archibald Henderson, of the State University, in recognition of the excellence of his three books published since the previous meeting of the Association: “Interpreters of Life,” “Mark Twain,” and “George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works.”

In accepting the cup Dr. Henderson said:

It gives me very real pleasure to express to you, Mr. Spokesman, and through you to the Committee of Award, my hearty thanks for the distinction of its imprimatur. And, in a more general sense, to express to the people of North Carolina my sincerest felicitations upon the efforts now everywhere going forward to assist in giving to this Old North State its true and definitive place within the charmed circle of literature and of art. Any contribution I may have made to that end, either at home or abroad, has been made in the name, and for the sake, of old North Carolina.

AFTERNOON SESSION OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

At the afternoon session of the State Literary and Historical Association, November 28th, held in the Hall of the House of Representatives, Dr. D. H. Hill, President of the State A. and M. College first presented the North Carolina bibliography of the year, after which Mr. R. D. W. Connor, of the State His-

torical Commission, gave a report of the State's historical activities since the preceding meeting of the Association. Both papers are published in full in this volume.

Another feature of the session was the report of Dr. Edwin Mims, Chairman of the Lecture Extension Committee of the Association. In part Dr. Mims said:

To give a concrete example of what might be done to carry out the ideas suggested a year ago, a series of three lectures on American Literature was given by the chairman of this committee at Winston-Salem in the spring. A central committee composed of representatives of all organizations was appointed to arrange for giving the lectures under the best possible circumstances. Two of the lectures were given at the High School Auditorium, and one at Salem College, the audiences ranging from 200 to 350. The lecturer had an hour each day for consultation with such as desired suggestions on courses of reading either for individuals or clubs. He furnished the newspapers of the town a bibliography relating to the various subjects treated. Some thirty new members of the State Literary and Historical Association were secured.

Soon after this demonstration of what might be done in a specific community by a representative of this Association, the Secretary of the Association sent out letters to the presidents of the various institutions of higher learning in the State, asking their coöperation in extending the work and influence of the Association. The responses to these letters were most gratifying, for in every case there was a definite endorsement of the idea and an expression of a willingness to coöperate.

The Association has promises of courses of lectures from President Poteat and Professor Sikes of Wake Forest; President Few and Professor Brooks of Trinity; President Smith and Professor Fulton of Davidson; President Hill of the A. & M. College; and Professors Graham and Mims of the University.

So far the response from the public has not been so marked as might have been hoped. Necessarily there is some confusion as to just what is contemplated. There have been some communities that have voluntarily made inquiries of the Secretary or the chairman. There are others with whom correspondence has not as yet reached definite conclusions. But it may now be definitely stated that within the next few weeks or months series of lectures under the auspices of this Association will be given in Goldsboro, Raleigh, Winston-Salem, Washington, Wilson, and New Bern.

Necessarily plans are as yet tentative. A good suggestion has been made by the committee appointed by Trinity College—that the lectures crystallize in a definite movement in the various communities to preserve local records and other materials of permanent

historical interest. All such suggestions will be carefully worked out. Different lecturers will emphasize different ideas, but in each case there ought to be made every possible effort to get definite results. We are of the opinion that some man or woman, who is in sympathetic relationship with all the higher institutions of the State, and who knows local conditions well, should be put in charge of this work and should push it aggressively and constructively.

A number of brief talks on subjects related to the work of the Association followed and four resolutions bearing on these were adopted as follows:

I.

Be it Resolved, That the Association continue the Committee on Vance Statue, Mr. R. H. Battle, chairman, with the request that they endeavor to secure the erection of the monument in Statuary Hall at the earliest possible moment.

II.

Resolved, That this Association heartily commends the proposed movement to place markers on the North Carolina section of the "Boone Trail," the historic highway over which the members of Judge Richard Henderson's colony were conducted to what is now the State of Kentucky.

III.

Be it Resolved, That the President of the State Literary and Historical Association shall appoint each year a committee on marking historic sites, a committee on library extension, a committee on lecture extension work, and a committee on increasing the membership of the Association.

IV.

Resolved, That this Association heartily endorses the movement inaugurated by the R. F. Hoke Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy to erect an adequate memorial to the gallantry of the North Carolina troops at Gettysburg.

At the conclusion of this "business session" the members of the Association present attended an informal reception given by the Woman's Club of Raleigh.

EVENING SESSION. TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1911.

A great audience greeted the distinguished guest of the Association, Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, historian and man of letters, at the concluding session of the State Literary and Historical Association. Senator Lodge had

been invited by vote of the members of the Association. He was introduced to the audience by Hon. Robert W. Winston, a former President of the State Literary and Historical Association, in the following words:

Members of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—To the man who lives by ideals, no spot in America appeals quite so strongly as Boston, with its Faneuil Hall, its "here Warren fell"; its "perpetual dissatisfaction with things that perpetually fall short of a high and perfect ideal." When we contemplate a Josiah Quincy taking the very jackets off the Board of Governors of Harvard College and in a public address fearlessly declaring that the curriculum of that institution was a flat failure and had destroyed the careers of thousands of young men by its fetish-like adherence to the obsolete educational systems of a discredited age; or, when we consider John Quincy Adams, single handed and alone, whipping to a frazzle the aristocratic and powerful commercial interests of New England—whether for greed and gain they servilely bent their necks to the yoke of British tyrant or stifled their consciences to favor a continuance of slavery in the South; when we view these and other more modern exhibitions of freedom of speech and of life, we can but believe that after awhile "that collective voice of the national understanding which alone can give back to us a peaceful and assured conviction will indeed be heard." This is what Matthew Arnold would call living by ideals. "When one side of a question has long had your earnest support, when all your feelings are engaged, when you hear all around you no language but one, when your party talks this language like a steam engine and can imagine no other, still to be able to think, still to be irresistibly carried—if so it be—by the concert of thought to the opposite side of the question and like Balaam to be unable to speak anything but what the Lord has put in your mouth"—this, if I interpret Boston aright, this is Boston.

In 1829 William Wirt made his first and only visit to Boston, partaking of the generous hospitality of Adams and Webster and Story and Otis, and when, taking his leave of the vivacious daughter of his open-handed host of the evening, he gallantly stooped and imprinted a kiss upon her soft and youthful hand, do you wonder that all his prejudices against the "Yankees" vanished into thin air and that in the ecstasy of his satisfaction he wrote his friend, Judge Cabell, of Virginia, "A Boston gentleman is every whit as good as a Virginia gentleman." High praise from a gentleman living in Virginia—that mountain of conceit which bounds our modest old State on the north, even as South Carolina—that other mountain of conceit—shuts it in on the south.

Gentlemen, Massachusetts and North Carolina have had their differences, but they have fought them out like men, and now they are brothers. The great North and the great and dominant party is in our midst and meeting our people face to face. We bid them welcome—thrice welcome. Let us now hear the man who more nearly than any other, by heredity and education, embodies the highest ideals of New England life and character—the scholar and the statesman—the defender of his ultimate convictions, unafraid—Henry Cabot Lodge, of Boston.

Senator Lodge then delivered his address, his subject being "The Constitution and Its Makers." He held the rapt attention of his great audience for an hour and forty-five minutes, his ability and eloquence charming those who disagreed with him as well as those who endorsed his contentions. Senator Lodge's address appears in full in this report and has also been printed as an official document by the United States Senate, 15,000 copies having been ordered published for general distribution throughout the country.

In addition to Senator Lodge's speech several musical numbers of unusual excellence added to the charm of the evening program, these being as follows:

Piano Solo—Tarantelle Op. 27, No. 2.....	<i>Moszkowski</i>
MISS ELLA DORBOH.	
Violin Solo—(a) Romance	<i>Sinding</i>
(b) Serenade, Op. 4.....	<i>D'Ambrosio</i>
MISS BLANCHE L. CRAFTS; MISS LUNEX at piano.	

Hon. F. A. Woodard, of Wilson, Chairman of the Committee on Nominations, then made his report recommending as officers for the ensuing year the following:

R. D. W. CONNOR, *President*.

A. C. AVERY, W. P. FEW, MISS LIDA T. RODMAN, *Vice-Presidents*.

CLARENCE POE, *Secretary-Treasurer*.

No other nominations were offered and the foregoing officers were then elected by acclamation.

President Graham then declared the Twelfth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association adjourned.

Social Features

No record of this session of the State Literary and Historical Association would be complete without mention of the several social features which gave the meetings unique distinction and charm.

Most notable among these social features was the brilliant reception given by Hon. and Mrs. Robert W. Winston, at the Yarborough House, immediately following the conclusion of the evening session November 28. A fuller account of this reception appeared in the *News and Observer* of November 29th, and is appended to this report.

The Association is also under obligations to the progressive and hospitable members of the Woman's Club for their delightful reception Monday afternoon, November 27th. Those in the receiving line were: Mrs. W. A. Withers and Mrs. Bowen at the door; Mrs. James Litchford, Chairman of Entertainment Committee; Mrs. Thomas P. Harrison, President of the Club; Miss Fannie E. S. Heck, Miss Rosa Broughton, Mrs. W. N. Hutt, Mrs. Paul Lee, Mrs. Charles McKimmon, Mrs. V. C. Royster, Miss Edith Royster, Mrs. Jaques Busbee, and Mrs. W. E. Shipp.

In concluding this formal record of the proceedings of the twelfth annual sessions it should be stated that never before has there been such hearty coöperation on the part of all Raleigh interests in making the meeting a success. Liberal citizens of the town subscribed an entertainment fund to defray the cost of the hall, carriages and automobiles for speakers, etc. The city gave the use of its new Auditorium, the Association paying only for the expense of heating and lighting. The Woman's Club of Raleigh gave hearty coöperation both by developing interest in the meetings and in tendering an informal reception. Prof. Wade R. Brown generously gave his time in arranging the musical program, to whose success the Band of the State School for the Blind, Mrs. Horace Dowell, Miss Sadie Duncan, Miss Ella Dorroh, Miss Blanche L. Crafts, Miss Luney, all contributed; and Mr. Virgil J. Lee and his corps of ushers deserve thanks for their efficient handling of the large crowds at the evening sessions.

CLARENCE POE, *Secretary.*

RECEPTION WAS BRILLIANT EVENT.

JUDGE AND MRS. R. W. WINSTON IN HONOR OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION—STATE'S MOST BRILLIANT SOCIAL FUNCTION GIVEN LAST NIGHT AT THE NEW YARBOROUGH HOTEL, WHERE THE SCENE WAS A MOST FASCINATING ONE—GUESTS FROM ALL SECTIONS OF THE STATE.

(*News and Observer*, November 29, 1911.)

The scene was a most brilliant and fascinating one last night at the reception given by ex-Judge and Mrs. Robert W. Winston, of Raleigh, in honor of the State Literary and Historical Association, there being present its members and specially invited guests. The event proved to be one of the most, if not the most brilliant social function ever given in Raleigh or the State, and was enjoyed by fully five hundred guests.

The reception was given on the second floor of the new Yarbrough Hotel, the parlors and halls decorated in pine, ferns and white chrysanthemums, the attractiveness of the hotel fittings and arrangements enhanced by these. The reception line, a long one in which were many men and women of note, was in the spacious hall overlooking the lobby, and in the lobby below an orchestra rendered attractive music. Brilliant lights gleamed, handsomely gowned women moved about, there was the hum of social converse, and happiness reigned. The assemblage was one of guests from all sections of the State, numbers from out of the State, and no more delightful reception has ever been enjoyed in Raleigh. In giving it, Judge and Mrs. Winston not alone extended a most enjoyable reception to the members of the State Literary and Historical Association, but their gracious hospitality included specially invited guests. On all sides could be heard congratulatory remarks concerning Judge Winston, a former President of the Association, and his wife, and the first of the social functions given in honor of the Association.

During the hours of the reception, which lasted from 10 o'clock till 12, delicious refreshments were served, fruit punch, a salad course, an ice cream course, and coffee. The many ladies who were in charge in serving did this most happily, the guests being served in parlors and in the halls.

In the receiving line were Judge and Mrs. Robert W. Winston, United States Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, the speaker of the evening at the meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association; United States Senator Lee S. Overman, of Salisbury, and his daughter, Mrs. Edwin C. Gregory, of Salisbury; Dr. and Mrs. Archibald Henderson, of Chapel Hill; Mr. and Mrs. William Sinclair Manning, of Spartanburg, S. C.; Dr. Edwin Mims,

of the State University; Mrs. William E. Shipp, of Raleigh; Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, of Winston-Salem; Dr. E. K. Graham, of the State University; Mrs. Jennie W. Overman, of Salisbury; Dr. C. Alphonso Smith, of the University of Virginia; Associate Justice of the Supreme Court Platt D. Walker and Mrs. Walker; Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, of Richmond, Va.; Bishop and Mrs. Joseph Blount Cheshire; President Howard Rondthaler, of Salem Female College, and Mrs. Rondthaler; President W. L. Poteat, of Wake Forest College, and Mrs. Poteat; Dr. D. H. Hill, of the A. & M. College, and Mrs. Hill; Mr. and Mrs. F. B. Webb, of Durham; Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, of Raleigh; Dr. and Mrs. T. P. Harrison, of Raleigh; Mr. and Mrs. R. D. W. Connor, of Raleigh; Miss Eliza Pool, of Raleigh; Miss Edith Royster, of Raleigh; Mr. Clarence Poe, of Raleigh; Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Peele, of Raleigh.

The guests were received in the red parlor by Col. and Mrs. John W. Hinsdale, Col. and Mrs. Charles E. Johnson, Col. and Mrs. Ed. Chambers Smith, Rev. and Mrs. Milton A. Barber, and in the hall by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Root, Dr. and Mrs. Patterson, Mr. and Mrs. Cruikshank, Mr. and Mrs. Jaques Busbee, and Mrs. Ellanor Lyon, of New York.

In the punch room delicious fruit punch was served by Mr. and Mrs. Robert C. Strong, Dr. and Mrs. Hubert A. Royster, Miss Annie Root, and Miss Kathryn Horner, of Oxford.

In charge of the salad course were Mrs. R. H. Jones, Miss Bessie Smedes Leak, Miss Dowd, Miss Eleanor Mann, Miss Lucy Moore, Miss Sue Kitchin, Miss Mary Grimes Cooper, Miss Pearl Heck, Miss Pickel, Miss Emmie Haywood, and Miss Adeline Barbee.

In charge of the ice cream course were Dr. and Mrs. A. W. Knox, Miss Amy Winston, Miss Ann McKimmon, Miss Elizabeth Thompson, Miss Jean Clark, Miss Alice Aycock, and Miss Alston Dargan.

Prosperity and Patriotism

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT EDWARD K. GRAHAM AT TWELFTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION, NOVEMBER 27, 1911.

No perfunctory word of thanks can express to the membership of this Society my gratitude for the honor that your generosity has conferred upon me during the past year. To serve a society dedicated to the mission of patriotism, and confirmed in that mission by ten years of patriotic achievement, is an honor that no pretense of self-confidence will let me enjoy without misgiving. My gratitude is sincere, though I confess that it is somewhat ashamed.

It is my purpose tonight to speak on "Patriotism and Prosperity." In what I shall say I shall call your attention to the prosperous North Carolina of today, and our patriotic relation to it; and if my voice lacks the authority adequately to answer the simple but tremendous question I propose, I shall accomplish my purpose if I can put the question into your minds; for the relation between prosperity and patriotism must, in our present situation, be our preëminent concern.

And if it be thought that to avoid the obvious difficulties of looking at present things as they are, I mean to devote myself to criticising things that I do not like, I hasten to correct that impression. Looking at North Carolina as she is I find my heart set tonight to a different tune. Too many genuinely good things invite judgment, too many that inspire hope and confidence to the very furthest reaches of patriotic faith, to suggest either vainglorious boasting or destructive criticism. Whatever is wrong in the complex problems with which we are so fortunate as to be confronted, and whoever is wrong on the questions on what North Carolinians are so fortunate as to differ, this much is squarely and fairly true: that the present moment in our State life carries more inspiration for the active enjoyment of constructive citizenship than any that the State has known before.

The main reason for this feeling of stimulation is clear. We have fought life's great necessary battle—the battle to make a decent and prosperous living—and we have won. There are plenty of economic difficulties still to overcome, but the sense of fear and worry is gone, the weariness is gone, the load has fallen from our back; and the average North Carolinian of today with straight shoulders and keen eyes looks at the world unafraid, confident that he can win material success to the limit of his ambition right here at home. And a tremendous thing that is to feel. In spite of nine cent cotton and financial doubt in the country at large, the news has been heralded abroad that North Carolina is coming into a magnificent legacy of material prosperity, and men in joy and confidence are writing over the rugged face of the State the epic of successful work.

But in a more vital way than this constructive materialism has North Carolina achieved success that has brought civic stimulus and elation. Along with this individual success she has in the past ten years somewhat achieved the idea of community success through coöperation. Scarcely a town in the State has failed to have its community spirit take fire from its constructive materialism: town slogans, electric "Welcomes," chambers of commerce, civic committees of every sort give evidence that prosperity has developed the joyful sense of coöperative patriotism. In the State at large prosperity has patriotically achieved not only the public school system, but the department of health and hygiene, of public roads, historical and library commissions, and numerous civic and betterment associations. It has developed for this effort to make the State a healthy and habitable home, its most competent leadership: aggressive, efficient, almost inspired by just the power of this thought of constructive communityism.

Is this as far as we can go, or has patriotism a profounder work to do, other lines on which to work, other leaders to develop in a time of prosperous peace? In 1861 patriotism was exalted by the supreme sacrifice of every physical thing; in 1870 it was exalted by sacrifice not less supreme and courageous. What is its mission in North Carolina in 1911 when men are making money, and the happiness of citizens is not greatly interfered with by fighting for anything except success in busi-

ness? Domestic tranquillity is assured, there is no need of the common defense. Can a man have a prosperous business on Fayetteville Street and still have a mission of progressively achieving, and with high devotion, all of those blessings of liberty for which his fathers gave "the last full measure of devotion"?

Here we meet the oldest of personal and national problems: Can we translate prosperity into greatly permanent terms? To digest material prosperity, government of the people confronts a problem as difficult as the problem of science when confronted with gravitation, Judaism when confronted with Christ, monarchy when confronted with America.

Moralists advise us to avoid this threat of prosperity by despising money; culture tells us to seek freedom of the spirit by despising work. But we go on working; we go on making money. We somehow doubt the efficacy of seeking perfection on an empty stomach. We are impelled forward not because we do not want perfection, but because as a free and equal people we seek perfection through work, as surely as the Hebrews sought it through religion, the Romans through law, the Greeks through art.

Clearly we are going on, making as good a living as we can, building great businesses and great cities, achieving material success in terms that the world has not known before. I can not hope to suggest what I conceive this statement to mean for our State. We have scarcely begun this great commonwealth-construction. America, we are told, will one day be the home of 800,000,000 people. Consider in these terms this North Carolina of the future now in the making! Will it be able to assimilate its gigantic share of this regal wealth of successful workers? Will our civilization perpetuate its buoyancy, its confidence, its progress, or will it, like China, eat out its life and heart of hope? Right now we are facing great problems of taxation, of race, of corporate control, of city government. What magnitude these will assume the present conflict in the nation between government and business merely suggests.

The mission of patriotism was never higher, its opportunity never more magnificent, than in this formative period of prosperity. Its ultimate test is its ability to develop the whole life

of the people as individuals—whether the business man on Fayetteville Street is to be merely a business man, or Man-in-Business. The justice, beneficence, beauty and success of North Carolina depends ultimately and altogether on the presence of these qualities in the life of the individual North Carolinian. To master this constructive materialism, to translate this prosperity becoming more and more triumphant, patriotism urges every citizen to consecrate himself to achieving as a part of his constructive civic program a constructive idealism.

From the point of view, then, of this formative prosperity, patriotism means above all things else a profoundly genuine faith. It means faith in these things we are doing as fine and worthy things; it means faith in ourselves who are doing them; it means faith in the race of men, and our ability to incorporate into our lives the principles that have made for their progress.

The Apostle Paul, who knew the life of money-changing Jerusalem as well as that of Athens, marks the supreme need in the daily work of a free people when he says: "That was first which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual." He suggests no apology for the industrial structure of our prosperity, but he insists on its balance, on its ideal interstructure. It is just with this present business of ours that we have to deal, not to discard it as unworthy, but to translate it into worthy life. Patriotism urges us to have faith in it; to have faith in the men who are concerned in making it; the motives and capacities of our fellow North Carolinians, the active stuff of life that we have on hand—our contemporaries in the factories, on the farms, in the market place. Patriotism urges us to take abounding inspiration from a faithful view of the possibilities of progress in the activities in which we are engaged. It emphasizes not our competitions and dissensions, but our unities, reminding us that we grow on our appreciations, our admirations, our affections. A patriotic voice of sincerity and sympathy can, through civic faith, translate the life of any town, however mean and sordid, from impotence into power.

And so in State life. In organizing an admirable social life here, threatened as we are by personal ambitions, jealousies, party antagonisms, slowly dissolving poverty and its prejudices, and material success and its prejudices, patriotism urges us to

submit ourselves joyfully to the works of unity, to the challenges to devotion, to the energizing virtues and ideals that are even more truly North Carolina's: her ideal home, her unrivalled stock, her noble traditions.

Patriotism makes potent in dealing with the garish problems of today the ideals of her past: the thought not only that her blood and spirit made great a nation across the sea, but that her blood had the hardihood to leave the nation, and as "a community so humble that no statesman condescended to notice it, reduced the wildest theories of civilization to practice"; and in addition to this vision of truth, caught a vision of righteousness by which that government steadily progressed; and in addition to this caught a vision of sacrifice by which in a war of exalted heroism she left immortal testimony of her bravery on every battlefield. Patriotism finds in these memories of her days of trial faith that she can as highly interpret the conditions of her present prosperity.

But patriotism in a prosperous State goes further than faith in its own activities, in its own contemporaries, and in its own history: it has faith in the race of men as capable of further and continued progress toward perfection. It catches a temper of loyal inspiration for its present effort, from its knowledge of what other nations have found good, in the ability of the people to know the permanently good and to choose it. It, therefore, has faith not only in what the men of today find good, but where that is short of completeness it would balance it and glorify it by unifying it with permanent standards. Wherever men have achieved fair memorials of progress, in whatever time or field or country, patriotism would find and follow and diffuse the principles of that progress. And in its review of history, the successes and bankruptcies of prosperity, patriotism finds no confusion. There is everywhere the same clear, simple judgment of history. I give it in the commonplace sentence of Bolingbroke: "Patriotism must be founded on great principles and virtues in the life of the people." Otherwise it becomes dead formalism. Religion forgets God and becomes Pharisaism and the letter of the law; democracy and prosperous commerce forget the people and depend on the machinery of legislation; identify progress with population, waterpowers, railways, sky-

scrapers, the opening of canals. These do not make a State great nor make men greatly love their State. "They are powerless until they give themselves to the reinforcement of those human qualities of which any real State life is made, and make the nation more just, more upright, more generous, more free, more love inspiring. They may do that. It is within the power of a nation as of a man to grow greater with every dollar added to its wealth; but a dollar is powerless" until it joins itself to whole principles of life and passes into character. The character of a free people must assimilate its prosperity, as it forms, into the life of the people. And this is ultimately and simply what patriotism is in the life of a prosperous State: it is giving a welcome in the State life to all of those things, material and spiritual, which have the right to enter into it and dominate it.

As to what these principles are there is again no confusion. They have the simplicity and grandeur of all elemental truth. Paul, the apostle of the people, calls them, "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are elevated, whatsoever things are amiable, whatsoever things are of good report," counseling us to let our lives run upon their lines. Plato makes the same judgment, more comprehensively, as truth, goodness, and beauty. Pasteur, the greatest of modern scientists and the good patriot of progress, stated them in his final message to mankind: "Happy is that man who finds in his heart an ideal of beauty and obeys it, an ideal of knowledge, an ideal of art, an ideal of his native country. These are the vital sources of great thoughts and great actions."

To interpret the life of a people engaged in triumphant materialism in terms of these ideal values is the tremendous obligation of patriotism in a time of prosperous peace: to incorporate them in our lives, to project them into our affairs, to make them supreme in our judgments. It is to give electric welcomes to these necessities of the spirit that patriotism counsels us at this critical moment in our history. We need a baptism of this patriotic faith—not a sprinkling, but an immersion! We do not need to change the spiritual nature of North Carolina; but we do need to raise its temperature to a temperature of power. We need to put the State more fully into that current of spiritual power that runs through the humanity of men as truly as the

Divinity of God rules above them. All experience, all prophecy, and the high instincts of our own hearts tell us that through patriotic faith and consecrated service we may translate our local issues in the terms of these eternal principles, and that only so shall our civilization see salvation.

Many sincere and patriotically disposed men grant that progress means more than material prosperity, but they will give to any program of idealism indifferent support because they regard it as too impractical for personal service.

They have the feeling that if we seek prosperity with heart, mind and soul that the other will be added as a sort of extra dividend. It is the always defeated hope of spiritual inertia. If constructive idealism is to be the saving standard of our State life we shall establish it by effort, deliberate, courageous, and devoted. The destiny of a people in ideals is no more a matter of chance than business is a matter of chance. A certain fine basis exists in the nature of our people, but a high civic standard is not waited for, but achieved.

Others, more active, doubt the need of such a program for city or State because they identify progress of the people with party platforms. In the midst of active affairs we are overwhelmed by the notion that democracy is a way of doing something, whereas it is primarily a good way of being something. All of the active devices of government—ballots, laws, constitutions, and the rest—are not to enable men to vote, but to develop men who will vote for right things; not to make more perfect machinery for governing men, but to make more perfect men for governing. We can pass all the Sherman laws we please, but we can not get them obeyed, enforced, or interpreted unless they accord with the vital standards and demands in the life of the people. There the issues of government are determined. That is what carrying the government back to the people really means; there is the true referendum. What most of us mean by faith in the people is a faith with limitations; a negative faith that they are not bad, that in a great crisis of right and wrong that they will by a sort of instinct approximate right. We have not the high-hearted faith of the true democracy that sees in the developing ideals of the people the one fruitful source of a State's steadily progressing toward perfection. We believe in

the average man; but we believe too much in his averageness, too little in his manhood.

There is another closely associated doubt as to the right of idealism to a place on a patriotic program: that it is indefinite and visionary, and so against the trend of the time. The trend of the time is toward practical efficiency, to identify education with useful facts, religion with works, and statesmanship with a tariff on mica. True patriotism does not rebel against this program except to say that it is incomplete. Patriotism is truly devoted to vocational training, to "swatting the fly," to guarding the needs of the district; but not as supreme ends in themselves. It looks behind practice and immediate profit. It sees that above all else the real fruitfulness of practice comes from the supremacy of principles in the lives of the people, and it has faith that its own people are worthy of what the greatest nations in their great moments have found as the inspiration of their great achievements. In other words, it rejects the standard of mere success that would reproduce the very successful Pittsburg; the standard of mere efficiency that would reproduce the very efficient C. F. Murphy. But while it values whatsoever things are true, and good, and beautiful for their own sake, it does not leave them an inactive philosophy. It does not reject practice, nor small affairs, but it saturates all practice with ideal values and so makes it permanent and magnificent. In every activity it is not ashamed to insist that the standard shall be not merely "Does it pay?" but that to that be added, not as a dead echo, but as the supreme ultimatum of all practice: "What doth it profit" if a State gain the whole world and lose its hold on the realities of Statehood?

The program of constructive idealism is difficult, it is tremendous, but it is not indefinite. Above and beyond all temporary considerations of property, railroads, factories, and corporations, patriotism lays hold upon its vision of North Carolina as a noble state of mind and heart and soul, as the Athens of Pericles was a state of mind, the England of Elizabeth, the Virginia of Jefferson, and to a lesser extent the Wisconsin of LaFollette. No tyranny of balance sheets can shake the faith of patriotism in the great vital truth of democracy that "without vision the people perish."

To catch this vision and to realize it is not the patriotic work of any profession or class. All professions and businesses, all offices truly magnified, are equally the ministers of this patriotism in a free and prosperous State. But it is the singularly fine fortune of this Society to be dedicated to patriotism through service to the ideals of truth, and justice, and beauty as they are revealed in literature and history. Splendid things it has done, and greater things it is yet to do in carrying its beliefs into the life of the State. There is supreme need of a devoted body of loyal men and women who value material construction, but upon whom material size of any sort can not impose. When thousands of strident voices, organized and unorganized, are every breathing moment reminding the State of its business and body, the demand of patriotism is for a militant, extensive group that will remind it of its soul, and give somewhat of their lives to that service.

A number of years ago a witty North Carolinian said that North Carolina was the place where men still believed in God, read Scott, and voted the Democratic ticket. That was when skepticism was more popular, and the Democratic ticket less popular than it is now. But we accept the estimate as indicating the splendid material which challenges patriotic effort in North Carolina: her righteousness, her steadfastness, her beautiful loyalty. No State in the Union offers in the character of its people a more inspiring opportunity for perfecting prosperity in a noble commonwealth through patriotic service to ideal values.

North Carolinians are a truthful people and a truth loving people. Patriotism urges us to render powerful this native virtue by giving abundant welcome to truth in every practice and activity in our life. Ignorance, with its prejudices, is the great foe to truth, and the warfare we are waging against ignorance is our richest patriotic asset; but no patriotic heart can remain untroubled and inactive when it daily faces the tragic deficiency in our power that comes from the terrible sacrifices that we make to ignorance. Beyond this fundamental service patriotism urges us to energize interest in ideas, to give to knowledge momentum and driving power by sending by all possible means currents of ideas throughout the State. In order to give ideas

free course, patriotism urges us to the still higher and more courageous service of creating a free atmosphere of truth. I do not mean truth as I see it, or my party sees it, or my sect of any sort, but truth as it stands revealed to any sincere seeker after it. I mean that for truth to be permanently powerful it must be lifted above its stratified, sectarian stage. Its healthful open mindedness does not, however, mean indecision and indifference. It believes in its party, in its leaders, in its church. It believes in these things as the practical instruments and exponents of truth to be most valiantly fought for. But it also knows that if the people of a State follow a leader, or a party, or a creed, through fear, mere convention or a lack of personal concern; speak without sincerity or keep silent through indifference, the vision of truth is sectarian and incomplete—a dead motive; ideas of spiritual construction are thereby blighted, and unable to keep pace with the unchecked freedom of materialism.

A Virginia paper said recently, apropos of corruption in some of our prosperous sister States, that "North Carolina is the cleanest State in the Union." Regardless of whether our merit in this respect is preëminent, it is certainly true that in goodness the nature of our people affords a splendid basis for constructive idealism. I shall not discuss in detail the interesting practical relations that the standard of material prosperity bears to that standard of level, equalized justice that is the lifeblood of all creative effort of every sort in a free State. I do not mean the standard of technical honesty or stolid righteousness. What I do mean is keeping fresh and vital and dominating the criterion of glowing justice. In establishing this standard over the tyranny of the merely business standard of success our prosperity has to face its inexorable problem of the camel and the eye of the needle. We shall not build with permanence unless in every test between the strong and the weak—in finance, labor, race, religion, art, domestic servants—the hundred applications in legislative and personal practice—we courageously and joyfully make prevail above all other judgments the standard of glowing justice as the incarnate conscience of the people.

The editor of *The Progressive Farmer*, who is also Secretary of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, a

combination of offices that admirably illustrates his interpretation of successful practice through constructive ideals; of what I have been trying to say of the passion for knowing, allied to the passion of making prevail, the union of present business with the business of all time, of devotion to one's own affairs purified by devotion to the affairs of the State—this patriotic North Carolinian of faith, has hanging in his remarkable office a reproduction or two of Raphael's side by side with a reproduction of Smith's pea planter and Jones's stump puller; a copy of Emerson's Essays is mixed in with a dissertation on subsoil plowing. I do not know what Raphael thinks of the crowd he has got into, but I know that Emerson enjoys it—his robust Americanism has no prejudices against beauty.

The work of an active people is incomplete without beautiful expression. State life, however prosperous, is nervous, barren and poverty stricken, unless it is enriched by noble emotions, nobly expressed and nobly enjoyed. What a benediction in the public life of the State has been our own grey old capitol building, in the gentle perfection of a beautiful age that is ever young—the hallowed memorial of gracious ideals that its presence will not let die. The influence of its beauty on the life of the State has been greater, I suspect, than that of many a chief executive. We do not count the extension of beauty in the form of books, pictures and architecture as a civic obligation; yet beauty is not less powerful than the sterner virtues in the ideals of a free people.

There are now 2,500 rural school libraries scattered over North Carolina, containing 200,000 volumes, in addition to the collections in the larger towns. These should not be cemeteries of dead books, nor mere conveniences for people who already love books, but this society and other agencies that have discovered the beauty of books, should put that beauty into the lives of the people. So our private homes, however simple, have a patriotic service as radiating centers in civic life of the tone and temper of beauty; our municipalities as aggregates, not of competing businesses, but beautiful expressions of the joy of living together. The small towns of which North Carolina is made up offer in their formative stage the best opportunity for growing into the supreme civic grace of beauty—though small towns

like small boys are especially careless of their personal loveliness. We prostitute the beauty of our highways of trade to the most vulgar purposes, indifferent to the fact that they, too, are the homes of men, careless of how we build them or build on them. Splendid civic work has been done in the past five years in beautifying our public places, and almost entirely it has been done by women—unfranchised and unfinanced. We need abundantly to welcome this motive of beauty as a dominating ideal into our private and our public construction, making it an active ally in that noble confederation of ideals, that partnership of the present with the past and the future that is the summary of all patriotism, the prophecy of permanent greatness.

May I say, in a word of conclusion, that there are many evidences that while we are building with energy, intelligence, confidence, temples to our god of Industry, that we are stirred by these profounder motives of ideal construction? They are observable in almost every North Carolina town, and nowhere are they more impressive than in our own lately awakened capital city. No other influence could be quite so potent as that there should be here a government not only efficient in practice, but glorifying its practice by illustrations of a genuine civic patriotism that expresses itself by devotedly constructing works of truth, justice, and beauty. But more than any other evidence of a growth of a noble civic faith in North Carolina is that supreme evidence in the life of the people more deeply felt than seen. It is the aspiration, even the yearning of the people of this State for higher things—a passionate docility, combined with the strength of native independence—a yearning for great leadership founded on great principles. Even now these leaders may be waiting. I do not know. The expectation of the people is a compelling prayer. It will be the work of our section, I believe, reëstablished in nationalism through prosperity, to lead the nation out of its confusions of materialism, and it will be only through new interpretations of the old ideals. However this may be, I know that our own heroes will come in commerce, in statecraft, in literature, in religion, when the spiritual temper of the State becomes resurgent through patriotic faith, and so liberates the splendid virtues of constructive materialism from its own unbalanced tyrannies. To usher in this creative era is

in part the glorious privilege of every man and woman who would play a patriot's part in the North Carolina of today, and achieve in the North Carolina of tomorrow the commonwealth for which men have dreamed and died, but scarcely dared to hope!

What Should a State History for the Public Schools Contain?

OUTLINE OF ADDRESS BY C. ALPHONSO SMITH, POE PROFESSOR OF
ENGLISH IN THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, NOVEMBER 27, 1911.

We are approaching a new era in our educational campaign. The slogan has hitherto been "More schools"; it will soon be "Better textbooks in the hands of the pupils." We are on the threshold of changes in our courses of study in the public schools hardly dreamed of ten years ago. What we have considered fundamental subjects are going to be readapted to present day school needs or eliminated altogether.

THE TRADITIONAL STATE HISTORY.

For some time I have been reading State histories, and the conviction has grown upon me that they are an outworn inheritance from England. In the traditional English History the reign of the monarch is the chronological unit, and so in our United States histories we divide by Presidents, and in our State histories by Governors. The pupil is supposed to memorize both names and dates. Add wars to this list and you have the usual State History. The Governors, in other words, are lined up in single file and the pupil has a word with each as he passes with his teacher down the line from the first to the last. Pauses are made only in the case of wars. Here the gubernatorial stream broadens out into a storm-tossed lake, but soon narrows again into the single stream.

Is this history? Will this sort of study ever put the pupil in touch with the great constructive forces that are making and have made every State what it is? The fact is we are living in a democracy but repeating for the school children the formula of a monarchy.

THE REMEDY.

We must democratize our history, not by lengthening, but by widening and diversifying the record. The traditional history ends where real history should begin. Fifty pages, it seems to me, are enough for the purely narrative part of any State His-

tory. This narrative should deal sparingly with names and dates, but it should present interestingly and lucidly the main events from the founding to the present time. This outline, however, at which most histories stop, should be but the real beginning. The pupil learns through this narrative what has been done; he is now to learn how it was done.

The first part may be considered The Result. The second part is The Interpretation of the Result. In the second part he is to learn the significance of the constructive agencies that have determined and conditioned the present status. It is as if the pupil were shown a majestic building. After seeing its imposing outlines his first question is: "How was it built?"

CONSTRUCTIVE FORCES.

What are these constructive forces? The most important are Agriculture, Transportation, Manufacturing, Government, Literature, Education, Religion, and Representative Leadership. These seem to me the natural and necessary headings of the chapters that should follow the narrative introduction. The length of these chapters and the method of treatment would, of course, be conditioned on the kind of evolution through which the State had gone. But, however modified, these are the forces which have moulded the past of every American State, and in which the American places his confident trust for the future. History must correlate these forces with the past and must interpret them in terms of the present. It must give the pupil such a realization of their significance as will make the preceding narrative of his State's development seem not a meaningless tale, but the inevitable resultant of interacting forces. In the case of North Carolina the recent unparalleled advance along all of these lines and the concurrent efficiency of the State Historical Commission make this method of treatment a practical necessity. No other treatment can make even approximately plain to the pupil or to the outside reader just what North Carolina is today and why. Let us glance at these forces in the proposed order of treatment.

AGRICULTURE.

No State is making greater comparative progress today in agriculture than North Carolina. Even the boys, the captains

of the corn brigades, are enthusiastic. Not only have agricultural methods been improved, but the constructive significance of agriculture in the making of a State is being realized as never before. What is needed now is to relate this movement to our past, and to put a new conception of agriculture in the home by putting it in the school. The Department of Agriculture sends out bulletins, the good influence of which is limited only by the number of appreciative readers. The time has come to meet these bulletins half way by preparing a body of intelligent readers in advance. Four-fifths of the inhabitants of North Carolina live in the country. Should not the boys and girls from these homes be made to feel that they are a part of the history of the State? Are they made to feel this in the pages of the political histories that have been written?

The chapter on agriculture would not be filled with statistics but it would begin with a brief reference to agriculture as a world influence in civilization and then pass directly to North Carolina. There should be an abundance of illustrations, a discussion of the more epoch-making discoveries and inventions, a clear statement of the nature of the soil and the resultant localization of industries, with a hint of the immense possibilities yet undeveloped. The purpose is not to make professional agriculturalists, but enlightened citizens. The emphasis, therefore, should be put upon agriculture as conditioning history. The discussion should be broad, interesting, but elemental, the facts being so stated as to furnish a key to the narrative that has preceded.

TRANSPORTATION.

The same general treatment would be followed in the chapter on transportation. It would be well to begin with the good roads movement. Is this not constructive? Is it not making history? Does it not contribute to the exchange of ideas and to the facilitation of neighborliness as well as to the increase of commerce? Or one might begin with the proposed Atlantic interior passage from New England to Florida and the Gulf of Mexico. Once touch the constructive imagination of the pupil and you have enriched his civic consciousness. We hear much today of the future-minded man. No one doubts his value as a civic asset. But the future-minded man is only the past-minded

boy grown up. If the boy is taught to see that the great things all about him are not detached and isolated, but rather the product of influences working silently and convergently through the centuries, influences that he can stimulate or retard, he will be the future-minded man of his generation.

A map of the State, showing the old highways yielding place to railroads or being transformed by macadam, showing also the possibilities of new landways and waterways, would give the pupil a glimpse into the future of the State that he could not obtain from the most elaborate political map. Emerson says that he found roads out west that began broad, then narrowed to a squirrel path, and finally took refuge up a tree. But he must have been journeying backwards. These roads probably began in the tree, passed into a squirrel path, widened into a hog path, swelled into a cow path, and graduated into a man path. Road building does not go backward, and the memory of roadbuilders should not be allowed to lapse. It was evidently a future-minded man who wrote the inscription on the lone headstone between Hendersonville and Mount Hebron:

HERE LIES SOLOMON JONES,
THE ROAD MAKER,
A TRUE PATRIOT.

HE LABORED FIFTY YEARS TO LEAVE THE WORLD BETTER THAN
HE FOUND IT.

MANUFACTURING.

"As late as 1810," says President D. H. Hill, in his *Young People's History of North Carolina*, "out of fifteen hundred men present at a military drill, all but forty were dressed in homespun." There was at that time not a cotton mill in the South. The growth of manufactures in the South since 1810, but especially since 1870, is an epic of absorbing interest. Last year alone more than 100,000 people in North Carolina labored in factories, and the value of their products was more than \$150,000,000.

The transition from the spinning wheel and loom (still seen in remote mountain districts) to the cotton mill, from home made tobacco to the tobacco factory, and from home made furniture to the furniture factory, is a transition that has never

been adequately treated in our histories. It is a story that is written large over the face of our State, but meagerly, if at all, in our school textbooks. But a moment's consideration will show that if the study of history in the schoolroom is meant to be an introduction to the constructive agencies that have touched our life at every point, manufactures whether by hand or machine can not be ignored. The boy or girl who can think through the steps that lead from the raw material to the finished product, and who can relate these steps to the general advance in things of the mind, is a historian in the germ. Such a pupil has learned to interpret facts in terms of forces.

GOVERNMENT.

Not till the pupil has learned the simpler interrelations of soil, roads, and machinery, will he be prepared to understand the simpler problems of government. It was just this failure to take into consideration the physical aspects of civilization that made John Locke's Grand Model the joke of North Carolina history.

Civics and agriculture, when studied at all in the public schools, are usually studied apart from history. But are they not necessary to the understanding of history? Even if they are studied both before and after the study of State history they should also be studied along with and as a part of State history. In North Carolina a beginner's course in agriculture is required in the fifth and sixth grades. The History of North Carolina is taught also in the sixth grade, while civil government is put in the seventh grade. This seems to me an admirable arrangement provided the significance of agriculture and the significance of good government are made plain in the State history.

As North Carolina is experimenting with the commission form of government for cities the whole subject of civics might well be introduced by calling attention to this new and promising development in the science of self-government. Civics should be taught at least in a human rather than in a formal way, so that the pupil may intelligently think himself through the leading offices of State, county, and town. There should be a State government, a county government, and a city government organized from time to time among the pupils. A boy who has

played governor, or legislator, or county commissioner, or mayor, or policeman, will have learned that the duties of democratic citizenship need more emphasis than the rights. He will also be enabled to read his State's history with an insight and sympathy impossible before.

LITERATURE

The history of literature in North Carolina has never been written, but enough is known to warrant the historian in calling attention to our native writers as interpreters and moulders of our history. Two North Carolinians at least have touched the intellect and heart of the nation in a unique way. Hinton Rowan Helper's book, *The Impending Crisis* (1857), remains the ablest discussion of the economic weakness of slavery that has yet been written. The tone is bitter, but the State can not afford to omit this man from the roll of its national thinkers. "New England wives," says Helper, "have written the most popular antislavery literature of the day. Against this I have nothing to say; it is well enough for women to give the fictions of slavery; men should give the facts." The effect of *The Impending Crisis* on the thought of the nation was hardly less than the effect of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* on the emotions of the nation.

What Helper of Mocksville did for the economic argument against slavery, O. Henry, of Greensboro, did for the four million of New York. The one appealed to the head, the other to the heart. But both appeals were national and the services of both men should be capitalized in our history for future generations.

I have reference, however, chiefly to North Carolina writers who have found their inspiration in their native soil, writers who have celebrated the scenery or perpetuated the traditions of their own State. Such writers are history makers and history interpreters. The *Old North State*, by Gaston, is the best known State song in America. Its music and words have done more to bind North Carolinians together in a community of interest and idealism than any other single poem in our literature. It should not only be memorized in every school but studied as an interpretation of the State spirit at the time when it was

written. It is not a final interpretation, but it will stimulate others to attempt a better.

Mrs. Tiernan's *Land of the Sky* (1876) introduced Western North Carolina to the outside world. It did for the region around Asheville a service comparable to that done by Irving's *Rip Van Winkle* and *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* for the neighborhood of Tarrytown-on-the-Hudson. If Burton Egbert Stevenson in his *Poems of American History* (1908) finds a place for Seymour W. Whiting's poem on *Alamance*, and William C. Elam's poem on *The Mecklenburg Declaration*, ought not the historians of North Carolina to find a place for them? If these and similar poems belong to American history, do they not belong also to North Carolina history? If the pupil learns nothing more from them than that literature has from the beginning been the conservator and the herald of history he will have learned a truth that will minister to him as long as he lives.

EDUCATION AND RELIGION.

These are grouped here for lack of space, and not because they should be grouped in our proposed history. There should be separate maps showing the growth of schools and churches, and a clear statement of their necessary interdependence. The growth and influence of the Young Men's Christian Association should also be outlined, as well as the growth and influence of school libraries.

The educational history of the State has already been well written; it needs only to be brought up to date, provided with plentiful pictures, and skilfully adapted to public school use. The purpose is to make clear not only the phenomenal advance of recent years, but the heroisms of early years and the moulding influence of education upon every phase of our State's activities. It is the merest commonplace to say that churches and schools are at once the measures and the determinants of a State's progress. But as common as the saying is, I have found no State history that traces these two constructive forces in their beneficent influence upon the State's destinies. If mentioned, they are merely mentioned. It is at least the highest praise that can be given the story of our State to say that it can not be understood by any one who ignores or underrates the primacy of intellect or morality.

REPRESENTATIVE LEADERS.

This chapter should complete and unify all that has gone before. But the leaders chosen should be representative of the constructive forces already mentioned. The makers of North Carolina history have been not only civic leaders in the accepted sense, but farmers, road builders, manufacturers, educators, writers, and preachers. The influence of biography on a reader, it must be remembered, is measured not merely by the greatness of the life portrayed, but by the similarity of task and environment that the reader is made to feel between himself and the hero. The biography, in other words, must meet the reader half way. It must reveal the same or kindred interests. It must touch his sense of common humanity. When this is done, life is reinvested in life. Longfellow's line, "There is no death; what seems so is transition," receives thus a new meaning. The transition is from the past to the present, from service that has been to service that will be.

To select these representative men, to portray the salient features of their life and work, to relate them properly to the varied activities of the State and to the ideals and interests of the pupils in our schools, is to write history that is not only democratic, but dynamic. It is a task calling for disciplined judgment and wide sympathy, but the reward will be greater than the task.

IN CONCLUSION.

History thus written would not fill the pupil's mind with names and figures, but it would deepen and diversify his interests. It would enable him to correlate the present with the past, and to summon both to the service of a larger future. His imagination would be enlarged both by retrospect and prospect. He would realize that history is not conservation, but interpretation, that it deals with the past only to make it live on into the present, and with the present only to garner it for the future.

Above all he would realize that his own honest toil, however humble, is a part of the State's progress, that no one man and no one class of men has made or is making the fabric of statehood, that it is a collective and composite thing on which many

brains have pondered and many hands have wrought. And out of this realization there would come that new conception of the State, a conception which has kindled alike the imagination of the poet and the patriotism of the citizen :

"God gave all men all earth to love,
But since our hearts are small,
Ordained for each one spot should prove
Belovèd over all;
That, as He watched Creation's birth,
So we, in godlike mood,
May of our love create our earth
And see that it is good."

The Constitution and its Makers

ADDRESS OF HONORABLE HENRY CABOT LODGE, TUESDAY EVENING,
NOVEMBER 28, 1911.

Before this Society and on such an occasion to speak on any subject not connected with the history of our common country would hardly be possible, and would certainly not be fitting. I have, therefore, chosen a subject which touches the history of the United States at every point. I shall try to set before you some of the results of a great work in which your State and mine alike took part a century and a quarter ago, and which possesses an interest and an importance as deep and as living today as at the moment of its inception. I shall touch upon some present questions but I shall speak without the remotest reference to politics or parties, for my subject transcends both. I shall speak as a student of our history with reverence for the past and with a profound faith in the future. In a word I shall speak simply as an American who loves his country, "now and forever, one and inseparable."

A little less than twenty-five years ago great crowds thronged the streets of Philadelphia. Men and women were there from all parts of the United States; the city was resplendent with waving flags and brilliant with all the decorations which ingenuity could suggest, while the nights were made bright by illuminations which shone on every building. Great processions passed along the streets, headed by troops from the thirteen original States, marching in unusual order, with Delaware at the head, because that little State had been the first to accept the great instrument of government which now, having attained its hundredth year, was celebrated in the city of its birth.

Behind the famous hall where independence was declared an immense crowd listened to commemorative speakers, and the President of the United States, a Democrat, honored the occasion with his presence and his words.

Two years later, in 1889, the same scenes were repeated in New York. Again the cannon thundered and again flags waved above the heads of the multitude gathered in the streets through which

marched a long procession, both military and civil, headed as before by the representatives of the original thirteen States. Again, this time at a great banquet, addresses were delivered and once more the President of the United States, a Republican, honored the occasion by his presence, and in the name of all the people of the country praised the great deeds of our ancestors.

In Philadelphia we celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the formation of the Constitution of the United States. In New York we commemorated the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of the government which that Constitution had brought into being. Through all the rejoicings of those days in every spoken and in every written word ran one unbroken strain of praise for the great instrument and of gratitude to the men who, in the exercise of the highest wisdom, had framed it and brought it forth. All men recalled that it had made a nation from thirteen jarring States, that it had proved in its interpretation flexible to meet new conditions and strong to withstand injustice and wrong, that it had survived the shock of Civil War, and that under it liberty had been protected and order maintained. The pæan of praise rose up from all parts of this broad land unmarred by a discordant note. Everyone agreed with Gladstone's famous declaration, that the Constitution of the United States was the greatest political instrument ever struck off on a single occasion by the minds of men. We seemed by all we said and did to justify those foreign critics who reproached us for our blind reverence for our Constitution and our almost superstitious belief in its absolute wisdom and unexampled perfections.

Those celebrations of the framing of the Constitution and of the inauguration of the government have been almost forgotten. More than twenty years have come and gone since the cheers of the crowds which then filled the streets of New York and Philadelphia, since the reverberations of the cannon and the eloquent voice of the orator, died away into silence. And with those years, not very many after all, there seems to have passed away also the spirit which then pervaded the American people from the President to the humblest citizen in the land. Instead of the universal chorus of praise and gratitude to the framers of the Constitution the air is now rent with harsh voices of criti-

cism and attack while the vast mass of the American people, still believing in their Constitution and their government, look on and listen, bewildered and confused, dumb thus far from mere surprise and deafened by the discordant outcry so suddenly raised against that which they have always revered and held in honor. Everyone who is in distress, or in debt, or discontented, now assails the Constitution, for such is the present passion. Every reformer of other people's misdeeds—all of that numerous class which is ever seeking to promote virtue at somebody else's expense—pause in their labors to point out the shortcomings of our national charter. Every raw demagogue, every noisy agitator, whether in Congress or out of Congress, incapable of connected thought and seeking his own advancement by the easy method of appealing to envy, malice, and all uncharitableness—those unlovely qualities in human nature which so readily seek for gratification under the mask of high sounding and noble attributes—all such people now lift their hands to tear down or remake the Constitution. In House and Senate one can hear attacks upon it at any time and listen to men deriding its framers and their work. No longer are we criticised by outsiders for having a superstitious reverence for our Constitution. Quite recently I read an article by an English member of Parliament,* a Liberal, I believe, with Socialist propensities, who said that this reproach of an undue veneration for the Constitution ought no longer to be brought against us, for beneficent and progressive spirits were already beginning to pull to pieces and to modernize it in conformity with the clamor of the moment. All this is quite new in our history. We have, as a people, revered our Constitution and realized what it has accomplished and what protection it has given to ordered freedom and individual liberty. Even the Abolitionists, when they denounced the Constitution for the shelter which it afforded to slavery, did not deny its success in other directions, and their hostility to the Constitution was one of the most deadly weapons used against them.

The enmity to the Constitution and the attacks upon it which have developed in the last few years present a situation of the utmost gravity. If allowed to continue without answer they

*Mr. L. T. Hobhouse.

may mislead public opinion and produce the most baneful results. The people of the United States may come to believe that all these attacks are in a measure, at least, true. And, therefore, if they are not true, their falsity ought to be shown. Beside the question of the maintenance or destruction of the Constitution of the United States all other questions of law and policy sink into utter insignificance. In their presence party lines should disappear and all sectional differences melt away like the early mists of dawn before the rising sun. The Constitution is our fundamental law. Upon its provisions rests the entire fabric of our institutions. It is the oldest of written constitutions. It has served as a model for many nations, both in the Old World and in the New. It has disappointed the expectations of those who opposed it, convinced those who have doubted, and won a success beyond the most glowing hopes of those who put faith in it. Such a work is not to be lightly cast down or set aside, or which would be still worse, remade by crude thinkers and by those who live only to serve and flatter in their own interest the emotion of the moment. We should approach the great subject as our ancestors approached it, simply as Americans with a deep sense of its seriousness and with a clear determination to deal with it only upon full knowledge and after the most mature and calm reflection. The time has come to do this, not only here and now, but everywhere throughout the country.

Let us first consider who the men were who made the Constitution and under what conditions they worked. Then let us determine exactly what they meant to do, a most vital point, for much of the discussion to which we have been treated thus far has proceeded upon a complete misapprehension of the purpose and intent of the framers of the Constitution. Finally let us bring their work and their purposes to the bar of judgment so that we may decide whether they have failed—whether in their theory of government they were right or wrong, then and now—or whether their work has stood the test of time, is broad based on eternal principles of justice, and if rent, or mangled or destroyed would not in its ruin bring disaster and woes inestimable upon the people who shall wreck their great inheritance and like

"The base Indian throw a pearl away
Richer than all his tribe."

First, then, of the men who met in Philadelphia in May, 1787, with doubts and fears oppressing them, but calm, high courage, and with a noble aspiration to save their country then and in the future from the miseries which threatened it, to lead it out from the wilderness of distractions, in which it was wandering blind and helpless, into the light, so that the chaos, hateful alike to God and men, might be ended and order put in its place.

It is the fashion just now to speak of the framers of the Constitution as worthy, able, and patriotic persons, whom we are proud to have embalmed in our history, but toward whom no enlightened man would now think of turning seriously for either guidance or instruction, so thoroughly has everything been altered and so much has intelligence advanced. It is commonly said that they dealt wisely and well with the problems of their day, but that of course they knew nothing of those which confront us, and that it would be worse than folly to be in any degree governed by the opinions of men who lived under such wholly different conditions. It seems to me that this view leaves something to be desired and is not wholly correct or complete. I certainly do not think that all wisdom died with our fathers, but I am quite sure that it was not born yesterday. I fully realize that in saying even this I show myself to be what is called old-fashioned, and I know that a study of history, which has been one of the pursuits of my life, tends to make a man give more weight to the teachings of the past than it is now thought they deserve. Yet, after all allowance is made, I can not but feel that there is something to be learned from the men who established the government of the United States, and that their opinions, the result of much and deep reflection, are not without value, even to the wisest among us. On questions of this character, I think, their ideas and conclusions are not to be lightly put aside, for, after all, however much we may now gently patronize them as good old patriots long since laid in their honored graves, they were none the less very remarkable men, who would have been eminent in any period of history and might even, if alive now, attain to distinction. Let us glance over the list of delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787. I find, to begin with, that their average age was

forty-three, which is not an extreme senectitude, and the ages range from Franklin, who was eighty-one, to John Francis Mercer, of Virginia, who was twenty-eight. Among the older men who were conspicuous in the Convention, were Franklin, with his more than eighty years; Washington, who was fifty-five; Roger Sherman, who was sixty-six, and Mason and Wythe, of Virginia, who were both sixty-one. But when I looked to see who were the most active forces in that Convention, I found that the New Jersey plan was brought forward by William Paterson, who was forty-two; that the Virginia plan was proposed by Edmund Randolph, who was thirty-four; while Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, whose plan played a large part in the making of the Constitution, was only twenty-nine. The greatest single argument, perhaps, which was made in the Convention, was that of Hamilton, who was thirty. The man who contributed more possibly than any other to the daily labors of the Convention, and who followed every detail was Madison, who was thirty-six. The Connecticut Compromise was very largely the work of Ellsworth, who was forty-two; and the Committee on Style, which made the final draft, was headed by Gouverneur Morris, who was thirty-five. Let us note then at the outset that youth and energy, abounding hope, and the sympathy for the new times stretching forward into the great and uncharted future, as well as high ability, were conspicuous among the men who framed the Constitution of the United States.

Their presiding officer was Washington, one of the great men of all time, who had led the country through seven years of war, and of whom it has been said by an English historian that "no nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life." Next comes Franklin, the great man of science, the great diplomatist, the great statesman and politician, the great writer; one of the most brilliant intellects of the eighteenth century, who, in his long life, had known cities and men as few others have ever known them. There was Hamilton, one of the greatest constructive minds that modern statesmanship has to show; to whose writings German statesmen turned when they were forming their Empire forty years ago, and about whom in these latter days books are written in England because they find in the principal author of the *Federalist* the great exponent of the doctrines

of successful federation. There was Madison, statesman and law maker, wise, astute, careful, destined to be, under the government which he was helping to make, Secretary of State and President. Roger Sherman was there, sagacious, able, experienced; one of the leaders of the Revolution and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, as he was of the Constitution. Great lawyers were present in Philadelphia in that memorable summer of 1787; such men as Ellsworth and Wilson and Mason and Wythe. It was, in a word, a very remarkable body which assembled to frame a Constitution for the United States. Its members were men of the world, men of affairs, soldiers, lawyers, statesmen, diplomatists, versed in history, widely accomplished, deeply familiar with human nature. I think that without an undue or slavish reverence for the past or for the men of a former generation we may fairly say that in patriotism and in intellect, in knowledge, experience, and calmness of judgment, these framers of the Constitution compare not unfavorably with those prophets and thinkers of today who decry the work of 1787, would seek to make it over with all modern improvements and who, with unconscious humor, declare that they are engaged in the restoration of popular government.

That phrase is in itself suggestive. That which has never existed can not be restored. If popular government is to be restored in the United States it must have prevailed under the Constitution as it is, and yet those who are so devoured by anxiety for the rights of the people propose to effect the restoration they demand by changing the very Constitution under which popular government is admitted by their own words to have existed. I will point out presently the origin of this confusion of thought. It is enough to say now that for more than a century no one questioned that the government of the Constitution was in the fullest sense a popular government. In 1863 Lincoln, in one of the greatest speeches ever uttered by man, declared that he was engaged in trying to save government by the people. Nearly thirty years later, when we celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the Constitution, the universal opinion was still the same. All men then agreed that the government which had passed through the fires of Civil War was a popular government. Indeed this new idea of the loss of popu-

lar government, which it is proposed to restore by mangling the Constitution under which it has existed for more than a century, is very new, in fact hardly ten years old.

This first conception of our Constitution as an instrument of popular government, so long held unquestioned, was derived from the framers of the Constitution themselves. They knew perfectly well that they were founding a government which was to be popular in the broadest sense. The idea sedulously propagated, that these great men did not know what they were about, or were pretending to do one thing while they really did another, is one of the most fantastic delusions with which agitators have ever attempted to mislead or perplex the public mind. The makers of the Constitution may have been right or they may have been wrong in the principles upon which they acted or in the work they accomplished, but they knew precisely what they meant to do and why they did it. No man in history ever faced facts with a clearer gaze than George Washington, and when, after the adjournment of the Convention, he said: "We have raised a standard to which the good and wise can repair; the event is in the hands of God," he labored under no misapprehension as to the character of the great instrument where his name led all the rest.

It is the fashion to say that since then great changes have occurred and wholly new conditions have arisen, of which the men of 1787 could by no possibility have had any knowledge or anticipation. This is quite true. They could not have foreseen the application of steam to transportation, or of electricity to communication, which have wrought greater changes in human environment than anything which has happened to man since those dim prehistoric, unrecorded days when someone discovered the control of fire, invented the wheel, and devised the signs for language, masterpieces of intelligence with which even the marvels of the last century can not stand comparison. The men of the Constitution could as little have foreseen what the effects of steam and electricity would be as they could anticipate the social and economic effects of these great inventions or the rapid seizure of the resources of nature through the advances of science and the vast fortunes and combinations of capital which have thus been engendered. Could they, however, with prophetic

gaze have beheld in a mirror of the future all these new forces at work, so powerful as to affect the very environment of human life, even then they would not, I think, have altered materially the Constitution which they were slowly and painfully perfecting. They would have kept on their way because they would have seen plainly what is now too often overlooked and misunderstood, that all the perplexing and difficult problems born of these inventions and of the changes, both social and economic, which have followed, were subjects to be dealt with by laws as the questions arose, and laws and policies were not their business. They were not making laws to regulate or to affect either social or economic conditions. Their work was not only higher but far different. They were laying down certain great principles upon which a government was to be built and by which laws and policies were to be tested as gold is tested by a touchstone.

Upon the work in which they were engaged, social and economic changes or alterations in international relations and political conditions, no matter how profound or unforeseen—and none could have been more profound or more unforeseen than those which have actually taken place—had little bearing or effect. They were framing a government and human nature was the one great and controlling element in their problem. Human nature, with its strength and its weakness, its passions and emotions so often dominating its reason, its selfish desires and its nobler aspirations, was the same then as now. There is no factor so constant in human affairs as human nature itself and in its essential attributes it is the same today as it was among the builders of the pyramids. As to the principles of government which the framers of the Constitution wished to adapt to that portion of human nature which had gained a foothold on the North American continent there was little to be invented. There is no greater fallacy than to suppose that new and fundamental principles of government are constantly to be discovered and wrought out. Laws change and must change with the march of humanity across the centuries as its alterations find in the conditions about it but fundamental principles and theories of government are all extremely old. The very words in which we must express ourselves when we speak of

forms of government are all ancient. Let me recall a few facts which every school boy knows and which any one can obtain by indulging in that too much neglected exercise of examining a dictionary. Anarchy, for example, is the Greek word "rule" or "command" with the alpha privative in the form of AN prefixed, and means the state of a people without government. Monarchy is the rule of one; oligarchy is the rule of a few. We can not state what our own government is without using the word "democracy," which is merely the Greek word *Democrateia* and means popular government, or the rule of the people. Aristocracy, ideally as Aristotle had it, is the rule of the best, but even in those days it meant in practice the rule of the best born or nobles. Plutocracy is the rule of the rich; autocracy, self-derived power, the unlimited authority of a single person. Ochlocracy is the rule of the multitude for which we have tried to substitute the hideous compound "mobocracy." As with words so with the things of which the words are the symbol; the people who invented the one had already devised the other. The words all carry us back to Greece and all these various forms of government were well known to the Greeks and had been analyzed and discussed by them with a brilliancy, a keenness and an intellectual power which have never been surpassed. If you will read "The Republic" and "The Laws" of Plato and supplement that study by an equally careful examination of what Aristotle has to say on government you will find that those great minds have not only influenced human thought from that time to this, but that there is little which they left unsaid. It is the fashion for example to speak of Socialism as if it were something new, a radiant discovery of our own time which is to wipe away all tears. The truth is that it is very old, as old in essence as human nature, for it appeals to the strong desire in every man to get something for nothing and to have some one else bear his burdens and do his work for him. As a system it is amply discussed by Plato, who in "The Republic" urges measures which go to great extremes in this direction. In the fourth century of our era a faction called the Circumcellions were active as Socialists and caused great trouble within the weakening empire of Rome. The real difficulty historically with the theories of socialism is not that they are new, but that they are very, very

old, and wherever they have been put in practical operation on a large scale they have resulted in disorder, retrogression and in the arrest of civilization and progress.

Broadly stated there have been only two marked additions to theories or principles of government since the days of the Greeks and the Romans. One is the representative principle developed by the people of England in the "Mother of Parliaments" and now spread all over the world, and the other is the system of federation on a large scale embracing under a central government of defined powers a union of sovereign and self-governing States which the world owes in its bold and broad application to the men who met at Philadelphia to frame our Constitution in 1787.

With these exceptions the framers of the Constitution dealt with the theories and systems of government which have been considered, discussed and experimented with for more than two thousand years and which are today, a century later, the same as in 1787, unchanged and with no additions to their number. In order to reach the essence of what the makers of the Constitution tried and meant to do, which it is most important to know and reflect upon deeply before we seek to undo their work, let us begin by dismissing from our consideration all that is unessential or misleading. Let us lay aside first the word republic, for a republic denotes a form and not a principle. A republic may be democratic, like ours, or an autocracy like that of Augustus Cæsar, or an oligarchy like Venice, or a changing tyranny like some of those visible in South America. The word has become as inaccurate, scientifically speaking, as the word monarchy, which may be in reality a democracy as in England or Norway, constitutional as in Italy, or a pure despotism as in Russia. Let us adhere in this discussion to the scientifically exact word democracy. Next let us dismiss all that concerns the relations of the States to the National Government. Federation, as I have said, was the great contribution of the Philadelphia Convention to the science of government. The framers of the Constitution, if they did not invent the principle, applied it on such a scale and in such a way that it was practically a discovery, a venture both bold and new, as masterly as it was profoundly planned. With the love of precedents characteristic of

their race they labored to find authority and example in such remote and alien arrangements as the Achæan League and the Amphictyonic Council, but the failure of these precedents as such was the best evidence of the novelty and magnitude of their own design. Their work in this respect has passed through the ordeal of a great war, it has been and is today the subject of admiration and study on the part of foreign nations and not even the most ardent reformer of this year of grace would think, in his efforts to restore popular government, of assailing the Union of Sovereign States. Therefore we may pass by this great theme which was the heaviest part of the task of our ancestors.

In the same way we may dismiss, much as it troubled the men of 1787, all that relates to the machinery of government, such as the electoral college, the tenure of office, the methods of electing Senators and Representatives, and the like. These matters are important; many active thinkers in public life seek to change them, not for the better as I believe, but none the less these provisions concern only the mechanism of government, they do not go to the root of the matter, they do not affect the fundamental principles on which the government rests.

By making these omissions we come now to the vital point which is, What kind of a government did the makers of the Constitution intend to establish and how did they mean to have it work? They were, it must be remembered, preparing a scheme of government for a people peculiarly fitted to make any system of free institutions work well. The people of the United Colonies were homogeneous. They came in the main from Great Britain and Ireland with the addition of the Dutch in New York, of some Germans from the Palatinate, and of a few French Huguenots from France, whose ability and character were as high as their numbers were relatively small. But an overwhelming majority of the American people in 1787 were of English descent, and they, as well as the others from other lands, were deeply imbued with all those principles of law which were the bulwarks of English liberty. In this new land men had governed themselves and there was at that moment no people on earth so fit for or so experienced in self-government as the people of the thirteen colonies. Their colonial governments

were representative and in essence democratic. They became entirely so when the Revolution ended and the last English Governor was withdrawn. In the four New England colonies local government was in the hands of the town meetings, the purest democracies then or now extant, but it is best to remember what the men of 1787 well knew, that these little democracies moved within fixed bounds determined by the laws of the States under which they had their being.

For such a people, of such a character, with such a past and such habits and traditions only one kind of government was possible and that was democracy. The makers of the Constitution called their new government a republic and they were quite correct in doing so, for it was of necessity republican in form. But they knew that what they were establishing was a democracy. One has but to read the debates to see how constantly present that fact was to their minds. Democracy was then a very new thing in the modern world. As a system it had not been heard of, except in the fevered struggles of the Italian City republics, since the days of Rome and Greece, and although the Convention knew perfectly well that they were establishing a democracy and that it was inevitable that they should do so, some of them regarded it with fear and all with a deep sense of responsibility and caution. The logical sequence as exhibited in history and as accepted by the best minds of the eighteenth century, struggling to give to men a larger freedom, was—Democracy—Anarchy—Despotism. The makers of the Constitution were determined that so far as in them lay the American Republic should never take the second step, never revolve through the vicious circle which had culminated in empire in Rome, in the tyrants of the Grecian and the despots of the Italian cities which in their turn had succumbed to the absolutism of foreign rulers.

The vital question was how should this be done; how should they establish a democracy with a strong government—for after their experience of the Confederation they regarded a weak government with horror—and at the same time so arrange the government that it should be safe as well as strong and free from the peril of lapsing into an autocracy on the one hand or into disorder and anarchy on the other. They did not try to set any

barrier in the way of the popular will, but they sought to put effective obstacles in the path to sudden action which was impelled by popular passion, or popular whim, or by the excitement of the moment. They were the children of the "Great Rebellion" and the "Blessed Revolution" in the England of the seventeenth century, and they were steeped in the doctrine of limiting the power of the King. But here they were dealing with a sovereign who could not be limited, for while a King can be limited by transferring his power to the people, when the people are sovereign their powers can not be transferred to anybody. There is no one to transfer them to and if they are taken away the democracy ceases to exist and another government, fundamentally different, takes its place.

The makers of the Constitution not only knew that the will of the people must be supreme, but they meant to make it so. That which they also aimed to do was to make sure that it was the real will of the people which ruled and not their momentary impulse, their well considered desire and determination and not the passion of the hour, the child perhaps of excitement and mistake inflamed by selfish appeals and terrorized by false alarms. The main object, therefore, was to make it certain that there should be abundant time for discussion and consideration, that the public mind should be thoroughly and well informed and that the movements of the machinery of government should not be so rapid as to cut off due deliberation.

With this end in view they established with the utmost care a representative system with two chambers and an executive of large powers, including the right to veto bills. They also made the amendment of the Constitution a process at once slow and difficult, for they intended that it should be both, and indeed should be impracticable without a strong, determined and lasting public sentiment in favor of change.

Finally they established the Federal Judiciary and in the Supreme Court of the United States they made an addition to the science of government second only in importance to their unequalled work in the development of the principle of federation. That great tribunal has become in the eyes of the world the most remarkable product among the many remarkable solutions devised by the Convention of 1787 for the settlement of the

gravest governmental problems. John Marshall, with the intellect of the jurist and the genius of the statesman, saw the possibilities contained in the words which called the Court into being. By his interpretation and that of his associates and their successors the Constitution attained to flexibility and escaped the rigidity which then and now is held up as the danger and the defect of a written constitution. In their hands the Constitution has been expanded to meet new conditions and new problems as they have arisen. In their hands also the Constitution has been the protection of the rights of States and the rights of men, and laws which violated its principles and its provisions have been set aside.

By making the three branches of the government, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial, entirely separate and yet coördinate, and by establishing a representative system and creating a supreme court of extraordinary powers the framers of the Constitution believed that they had made democracy not only all powerful but at the same time safe and that they had secured it from gradual conversion into autocracy on the one hand and from destruction by too rapid motion and too quick response to the passions of the moment on the other. If ever men were justified by results they have been. The Constitution in its development and through our history has surpassed the hopes of its friends and utterly disappointed the predictions and the criticisms of its foes. Under it the United States has grown into the mighty Republic we see today. New States have come into the Union, vast territories have been acquired, population and wealth have increased to a degree which has amazed the world, and life, liberty, and property have been guarded beneath the flag which is at once the symbol of the country and of the Constitution under which the nation has risen to its high success.

Such results would seem to be a potent argument in favor of the instrument of government through which they have been achieved. But to argue from results seems just now out of fashion. Actual accomplishment it would appear is nothing. According to the new dispensation our decision must be made on what is promised for the future, not on what has been done in the past. Under this novel doctrine, as I have observed it,

we are to be guided only by envy and discontent and are to act exclusively on the general principle that whatever is, is wrong.

What then is the plan by which popular government, which existed under the Constitution for more than a century and which has been mysteriously lost during the past few years, is to be restored to us? It is proposed, to put it in a few words, to remove all the barriers which the makers of the instrument established in order to prevent rash, hasty, and passionate action and to secure deliberation, consideration and due protection for the rights of minorities and of individuals. This is to be accomplished in two ways, by emasculating the representative system through the compulsory initiative and referendum, and by breaking down the courts through the recall. These are the changes by which it is intended to revive popular government. Incidentally they strike at the very heart of the Constitution as the framers planned and made it, for they will convert the deliberate movement of the governmental machinery by which its makers intend to secure to democracy both permanence and success, into an engine which starts at the touch of an electric button, which is as quick in response as a hair trigger pistol, and as rapid in operation as a self-cocking revolver.

These new ideas are of a ripe age, indeed they have passed many hundreds of years beyond the century fixed by Dr. Johnson for the establishment of a literary reputation at a point where it might be intelligently discussed. Let us therefore consider and criticize them.

The compulsory initiative and the compulsory referendum need not detain us long, for the effect of those devices is obvious enough. The entire virtue or the entire vice—each one may use the word he prefers—of these schemes rests in the word "compulsory." The initiative without compulsion is complete in the right of petition secured by the first of the first ten amendments to the Constitution which really constituted a bill of rights. The right of petition became the subject of bitter controversy at a later time and was vindicated once for all by John Quincy Adams' great battle in its behalf, more than three-quarters of a century ago. There are few instances where petitions representing a genuine popular demand have not met a response in action whether in Congress or the State Legislatures, still

fewer when respectful attention and consideration have not been accorded to them. But the responsibility for action and the form such action should take has rested with the representative body. When the initiative is made compulsory a radical change is effected. A minority, sometimes a small minority, of the voters, always a small minority of the people, can compel the Legislature to pass a law and submit it to the voters, when a very large majority of the people neither ask for nor, so far as the evidence goes, desire it. In this way all responsibility is taken from the representative body and they become mere machines for drafting and recording laws. It is the substitution of government by factions and fractions for government by the people. The representative body as hitherto constituted represented the whole people. Under the new plan it is to be merely the helpless instrument of a minority, perhaps a very small minority of the voters.

The voluntary referendum has always existed in this country. In the national government, owing to our dual or Federal form, the referendum on constitutional amendments is necessarily made to the States and has never been suggested for the laws of the United States, owing to both physical and constitutional difficulties. But in the States the referendum has always been freely used not only for constitutions and constitutional amendments but for laws, especially for city charters, local franchises and the like. But if on demand of a minority of the voters the referendum is made compulsory all responsibility vanishes from the representative body. The representative no longer seeks to represent the whole people, or even his own constituency, but simply votes to refer everything to the voters and covers himself completely by pointing to the compulsory referendum. On the other hand the voters are called upon to legislate. Of the mass of measures submitted they know and can know nothing. Experience shows that in all referendums a large proportion of the voters decline to vote. Whether this is due to indifference or to lack of information the result is the same. It shows that this system demands from the voters what the most intelligent voters in the world are unable to give. They are required to pass upon laws, many of which they have neither time nor opportunity to understand without deliberation and without any dis-

cussion except what they can gather from the campaign orator who is, as a rule, interested in other matters, or from an occasional article in a newspaper. They can not alter or amend. They must vote categorically "yes" or "no." The majority either fails to vote and the small and interested minority carries its measure, or the majority in disgust votes down all measures submitted, good and bad alike, because they do not understand them and will not vote without knowing what their votes mean. The great laws which, both in England and the United States, have been the landmarks of freedom and made ordered liberty possible, were not passed, and never could have been perfected and passed, in such a way as this. This new plan is spoken of by its advocates as progressive. As a matter of fact, it is the reverse of progressive. Direct legislation by popular vote was familiar, painfully familiar, to Greece and Rome. In both it led through corruption, violence, and disorder to autocracy and despotism. The direct vote system also proved itself utterly incapable for the government of an extended empire and of large populations. Where government by direct vote miserably failed, representative government after all deductions have been made, has brilliantly succeeded. The development of the principle and practice of representative government was, as I have already pointed out, the one great contribution of modern times to the science of government. It has shown itself capable of preserving popular government and popular rights without the violence and corruption which resulted of old in anarchy and despotism and at the same time it has provided its adaptability to the management of large populations and the efficient government of great empires. Representative government was an enormous advance over government by the direct vote of the Forum, the Agora or the market place, which had preceded it, and which had gone down in disaster. It is now proposed to abandon that great advance and to return to the ancient system with its dark record of disorder and failure. This is not progress. It is retreat and retrogression. It is the abandonment of a great advance and a return to that which is not only old and outworn, but which history and experience have alike discredited.

Look now for a moment at representative government as we ourselves have known it. Let us not forget, in the first place, that the Congress of the United States under the Constitution has been in continuous existence for more than 120 years, that with the single exception of the "Mother of Parliaments" it is much the oldest representative body of a constitutional character now existing in the world. Let us also remember that the history of the American Congress is in large part the history of the United States and that we are apt to be proud of that history as a whole and of the many great things we as a people have accomplished. Yet, whatever praise history accords to the Congress of the United States in the past, the Congress of the moment and the members of that body in either branch receive but little commendation from their contemporaries. This is, perhaps, not unnatural and it certainly has always been customary. Legislative bodies have rarely touched the popular imagination or appeared in a dramatic or picturesque attitude. The Conscript Fathers, facing in silence the oncoming barbarians of Gaul; Charles the First, attempting to arrest the five members; the Continental Congress adopting the Declaration of Independence; the famous Oath of the Tennis Court, are almost the only instances which readily occur to one's mind of representative and legislative bodies upon whom for a brief instant has rested the halo of heroism and from which comes a strong appeal to the imagination. The men who fight by land and sea rouse immediate popular enthusiasm, but a body of men engaged in legislation does not and can not offer the fascination or the attraction which are inseparable from the individual man who stands forth alone from the crowd in any great work of life, whether of war or peace.

We may accept without complaint this tendency of human nature, but I think every dispassionate student of history, as well as every man who has had a share in the work of legislation, may rightfully deprecate the indiscriminate censure and the consistent belittling which pursue legislative bodies. This attitude of mind is not confined to the United States. The press of England treats its Parliament severely enough, although on the whole with more respect than is the case with the American press in regard to the American Congress. But running through

English novels and essays we find as a rule the same sneer at the representatives of the people as we do here. Very generally, both in this country and abroad, those who write for the public seem to start with the proposition that to be a Member of Congress or a Member of Parliament or a Member of the Chamber of Deputies in France, implies some necessary inferiority of mind or character. I do not desire to be rash or violent, but I think this theory deserves a moment's examination and is perhaps open to some doubt. As Mr. Reed once said, it is a fair inference that a man who can impress himself upon 200,000 people, or upon the whole population of a great State, sufficiently to induce them to send him to the House or Senate, has something more than ordinary qualities and something more than ordinary force. Then, again, as Edmund Burke remarked, you can not draw an indictment against a whole people, nor, I may add, can you draw an indictment against an entire class. There are good men and bad men in business and in the professions, in the ministry, in medicine, in law and among scholars. Virtue is not determined by occupation. There are, I repeat, good and bad men in every profession and calling, among high and low, rich and poor, and the honest men, who mean to do right, largely predominate, for if they did not the whole social structure would come crashing to the ground.

What is true of business and the professions is true of Congress. There are good and bad men in public life and the proportion of good to bad, I believe, compares favorably with that of any other occupation. Public men live in the fierce light which beats upon them as upon the throne, a light never fiercer or more pitiless than now, and for this reason their shortcomings are made more glaring and their virtues by contrast more shadowed than in private life. This is as it should be, for the man who does wrong in private life is far less harmful than the public servant who is false to his trust. To inflict upon the public servant who is a wrongdoer the severest reprobation is necessary for the protection of the community, but for this very reason we should be extremely careful that no reprobation should be visited unjustly on any public man. It is an evil thing to betray the public trust, but it is an equally evil thing to pour wholesale condemnation upon the head of every man in public

life, good and bad alike. That which suffers most from an injustice like this in the long run is not the public servant who has been unfairly dealt with, for the individual passes quickly, but the country itself. After all, the voters make the representative. If he is not of the highest type he appears to be that which the majority prefers. Wholesale criticism and abuse of the representatives reflect more on the constituencies, if we stop to consider, than on those whom the constituencies select to represent them. Indiscriminate condemnation and equally indiscriminate belittling of the men who make and execute our laws, whether in State or Nation, is not only a reflection upon the American people but is a blow to the United States and every State in it. They help the guilty to escape and injure the honest and the innocent. They destroy the people's confidence in their own government and lower the country in the eyes of foreign nations.

The Congress of the United States embodies the representative principle. The principle of representation, as I have said, has been the great contribution of the English speaking race to the science and practice of government. The Greeks and the Romans, let me say once more, had pure democracy and legislation by direct vote in theory at least, and we have but to read Plato's "Republic" and "The Laws" to learn the defects of the system in use in Athens. Greece failed to establish an empire; she touched the highest peaks of civilization and finally went to pieces politically beneath the onset of Rome. Rome established a great empire, but after years of bloody struggles between aristocracy and democracy it ended in a simple despotism. The free cities of Italy oscillated between anarchy and tyranny, only to fall victims in the end to foreign masters. In Florence they had elections every three months and a complication of committees and councils to interpret the popular will. Yet the result was the Medicis and the Hapsburgs.

It is also to be remembered that the representative principle has been coincident with political liberty. Whatever its shortcomings or defects, and like all things human it has its grave defects, it none the less remains true that the first care of every "strong man," every "savior of society," every "man on horseback," of every autocrat, is either to paralyze or to destroy the

representative principle. It may be that the representative principle is not the cause of political liberty, but there can be no question whatever that the two have always gone hand in hand and that the destruction of one has been the signal for the downfall of the other. The Congress of the United States and the Legislatures of the several States embody the representative principle. By that principle your laws have been made and the republican form of government upheld for more than a century. Whatever its shortcomings it has maintained the government of the United States, and upheld law and order throughout our borders. The framers of our government separated the executive from the legislative branch. They deemed both essential to freedom. The Constitution of my State declares that the government it establishes is to be a government of laws and not of men; a noble principle and one worthy of fresh remembrance. With such a history, and typifying as it does the great doctrines which were embodied in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the institutions of England, it may be fairly asked that if the representative principle must be criticised, as it should be, with severity when it errs, it should also be treated with that absolute justice which is not only right in the abstract, but which is essential to the maintenance of law, order, and free government, to human progress and to the protection of the weak, even as the fathers designed that it should be. When we blame its failures let us not forget its services. They have broadened freedom down from precedent to precedent. They shine across those pages of history which tell the great story of the advance of liberty and of the ever widening humanity which seeks to make the world better and happier for those who most need happiness and well being. In beneficent results for the people at large no other form of government ever attempted can compare with it for a moment.

The worst feature of the compulsory initiative and referendum lies therefore in the destruction of the principle of representation. Power without responsibility is a menace to freedom and good government. Responsibility without power is inconceivable, for no man in his senses would bear such a burden. But when responsibility and power are both taken away, whether from the executive or the representatives, the result is simple

inanition. No man fit by ability and character to be a representative would accept the office under such humiliating conditions. Those who accepted it would do so for the pecuniary reward which the office carried and would sink rapidly into mere machines of record, neither knowing nor caring what they did. With a representative body thus reduced to nothingness we are left with the people armed only with their votes and with an executive who has necessarily absorbed all the real powers of the State. This situation is an old story and has always ended in the same way. It presents one of those rare cases in which the teaching of history is uniform. When the representative principle has departed and only its ghost remains to haunt the Capitol, liberty has not lingered long beside its grave. The rise of the representative principles and its spread to new lands today marks the rise of popular government everywhere. Wherever it has been betrayed or cast down the government has reverted to despotism. When representative government has perished freedom has not long survived.

Most serious, most fatal indeed, are the dangers threatened by the insidious and revolutionary changes which it is proposed to make in our representative system, upon which the makers of the Constitution relied as one of the great buttresses of the political fabric which was to ensure to popular government success and stability. Yet even these changes are less ruinous to the body politic, to liberty and order, than that which proposes to subject judges to the recall. No graver question has ever confronted the American people.

The men who framed the Constitution were much nearer to the time when there was no such thing as an independent judiciary than we are now. The bad old days, when judges did the bidding of the King, were much more vivid to them than to us. What is a commonplace to us was to them a comparatively recent and a hardly won triumph. The fathers of some of those men—the grandfathers of all—could recall Jeffreys and the “Bloody Assize.” They knew well that there could be no real freedom, no security for personal liberty, no justice, without independent judges. It was for this reason that they established the judiciary of the United States with a tenure which was to last during good behavior and made them irremovable except by

impeachment. The Supreme Court then created and the judiciary which followed, have, as I have already said, excited the admiration of the civilized world. The makers of the Constitution believed that there should be no power capable of deflecting a judge from the declaration of his honest belief, no threat of personal loss, no promise of future emolument, which could be held over him in order to sway his opinion. This conviction was ingrained and born with them, as natural to them as the air they breathed, as vital as their personal honor. How could it have been otherwise? The independence of the judiciary is one of the great landmarks in the long struggle which resulted in the political and personal freedom of the English speaking people. The battle was fought out on English soil. If you will turn to the closing scenes of Henry IV, you will find there one of the noblest conceptions of the judicial office in the olden time ever expressed in literature. It was written in the days of the last Tudor or of the first Stuart, in the time of the Star Chamber, of judges who decided at the pleasure of the King, and when Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England, took bribes or gifts. Yet lofty as is the conception you will see that Shakespeare regarded the judge as embodying the person, the will, and the authority of the King. We all know how the first two Stuarts used the courts to punish their enemies and to prevent the assertion of political rights, which are now such common-places that the fact that they were ever questioned is forgotten. The tyranny of the courts was one of the chief causes which led to the great rebellion, and out of that great rebellion, when the third Stuart had been restored, came the habeas corpus act, which has done more to protect personal liberty than any act ever passed. But the Second Charles and the Second James had learned nothing as to the judges. They expected them to do their bidding when the King had any interest at stake, and under the last Stuart the courts reached a very low point and the legal history of the time is characterized by the evil name of Jeffreys. When the lawyers went to pay their homage to William of Orange, they were headed by Serjeant Maynard, then ninety years of age. "Mr. Serjeant," said the Prince, "you must have survived all the lawyers of your standing." "Yes, sir," said the old man, "and but for Your Highness, I

should have survived the laws, too." The condition of the courts was indeed one of the strongest of many bitter grievances which wrought the revolution that placed William of Orange on the English throne. In the famous Bill of Rights there is no provision in regard to the courts, and it is not quite clear why it was omitted, although apparently it was due to an oversight. In any event it was not forgotten. It was brought forward more than once in Parliament, but William announced that he would not assent to any act making the judges independent of the Crown. As his reign drew toward its close, however, he signified that although he would veto a separate act he would accept the independence of the judiciary if provided for in the Act of Settlement, which was to determine the succession to the throne of England. Therefore we find in the Act of Settlement the clause which declares that the judges shall hold office during good behavior—"quamdium sembene gesserint"—and shall be removable only on the request of both houses of Parliament.

It is necessary to pause a moment here and consider briefly the provision of the Act of Settlement for the removal of judges on an address by the House, because it has been most absurdly used by persons ignorant probably of its history, as a precedent justifying the recall. The clause was inserted not for the purpose of controlling the judges, but to protect them still further against the power of the Crown by which they had hitherto been dominated. The history of the clause since its enactment demonstrates what its purpose was as well as the fulfillment of that purpose in practice. During the two centuries which have elapsed since William III gave his assent to the act there has been, so far as I can learn, only one removal on address, that of Sir Jonah Barrington, an Irish judge, in 1806, more than a hundred years ago. There have been several cases where removal was petitioned for but Barrington's was, I think, the only one in which the demand was successful. The procedure employed shows that there is no resemblance whatever between the removal of a judge upon the address of the law-making body and the popular recall. They are utterly different, instituted for different purposes and the former furnishes in reality a strong argument against the latter. In all the cases

of removal or attempted removal by address of Parliament the accused judge was carefully tried before a special committee of each House; he could be heard at the bar of either House, he could and did employ counsel, and could summon and cross-examine witnesses. This proces is as far removed from the recall as the zenith from the nadir, for under the recall the accused judge has no opportunity to summon or cross-examine witnesses, to appear by counsel, or to be properly heard and tried. He is obliged under the recall to make an appeal by the usual political methods and at the same time to withstand another candidate, while he is forced to seek a hearing from audiences ignorant of the law and inflamed perhaps against him by passion and prejudice. He has no chance whatever of a fair trial.

Some of our States borrowed this provision of the Act of Settlement when they formed their Constitutions. My own State of Massachusetts was one of them. The power has been but rarely exercised by the Legislature in the hundred and thirty years which have passed since our Constitution was adopted. It so happened that when I was in the Legislature a case occurred and I was a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, to whom the petitions were referred. The accused judge was tried as elaborately and fairly as he could have been by any court or by the Senate if he had been impeached. He had counsel, he summoned and cross-examined witnesses, and the trial, for it was nothing less, occupied weeks. The committee reported in favor of removal, but the House rejected the committee's report. Some years later after a similar trial the address passed both Houses and the judge was removed by the Governor for misdemeanor and malfeasance in office. A mere statement of the procedure shows at once that the removal by address is simply a summary form of impeachment with no relation or likeness to the recall. Removal by address is no more like the recall than impeachment is. If successful they all result in the retirement of the judge accused, but there the resemblance ends.

The makers of the Constitution did not follow the Act of Settlement and adopt the removal on address. They no doubt perceived its advantages because it made possible the removal of a judge incapacitated by insanity or age or disease without inflicting upon him the stigma of an impeachment, but they also

saw that the removal by address might be used for political and personal reasons, of which one instance occurred in my own State, and they probably determined that the risk of its abuse outweighed any possible benefit which might flow from its judicious exercise.

They placed their courts as far as they could on the great heights of justice, above the gusts of popular passion. They guarded them in every possible way. They knew that judges were human and therefore fallible. They knew that the courts would move more slowly than popular opinion or than Congress, but they felt equally sure that they would in the end follow that public opinion which was at once settled and well considered. All this they did because all history and especially the history and tradition of their own race taught them that the strongest bulwark of individual freedom and of human rights was to be found ultimately in an independent court, the corner stone of all liberty. Their ancestors had saved the judges from the Crown. They would not retrace their steps and make them subject to the anger and the whim of any one else.

"They wished men to be free,
As much from mobs as kings,
From you as me."

The problem which they then solved has in no wise changed. The independence of the judiciary is as vital to free institutions now as then. The system which our forefathers adopted has worked admirably and has commanded the applause of their children and of foreign nations, who Bacon tells us are a present posterity. Now it is proposed to tear this all down and to replace the decisions of the court with the judgment of the market place. If I may borrow a phrase from the brilliant speech made recently by Mr. Littleton in the House, it is intended to substitute "government by tumult for government by law."

Those who advocate this revolution in our system of government seem to think that a judge should be made responsive to the popular will, to the fleeting majority of one day which may be a minority the next. They would make their judges servile, and servile judges are a menace to freedom, no matter to whom

their servitude is due. They talk of a judge's duty to his constituents. A judge on the bench has no constituents and represents no one. He is there to administer justice. He is there not to make laws, but to decide what the law is. He must know neither friend nor foe. He is there to declare the law and to do justice between man and man.

The advocates of the recall seem to believe that with subservient judges glancing timidly to right and left to learn what voters think instead of looking steadfastly at the tables of the law, the poor will profit and the rich will suffer, that the individual will win and the corporation lose, that the powerful will be crushed and the weak will triumph, while the sword of the recall hangs over the head of a judicial Damocles. If even this were true nothing could be more fatal. A judge must know neither rich nor poor, neither strong nor weak. He must know only law and justice. He must never listen to Bassanio's appeal "To do a great right, do a little wrong." But their theory is in reality most lamentably false. No man fit to be a judge would, with few exceptions, take office under the recall. In the end the bench would be filled by the weak and the unscrupulous. The weak would make decisions to curry favor and hold votes. The unscrupulous would use their brief opportunity to assure their own fortunes and that assurance could come only from the rich and the powerful, who would thus control the decisions. For the American court we should substitute the Oriental Cadi with the bribe-giver whispering in his ear.

In one of the noblest passages of his letter to the sheriffs of Bristol, Edmund Burke says: "The poorest being that crawls on earth contending to save itself from injustice and oppression is an object respectable in the eyes of God and man." Without the independent judge those words could never have been written. Judges, of course, are human, and therefore err. I know well that there have been one or two great cases where the decision of the highest court traveling beyond its province has been reversed and swept away by the overwhelming force of public opinion, and the irresistible current of events. I know only too well that we suffer from the abuse of technicalities, from delays which are often a denial of justice and that the methods of our criminal law are in many states a disgrace

to civilization. But all these delays and abuses and miscarriages of justice are within the reach of Congress and legislatures and these evils can be remedied by statute whenever public opinion demands a reform. Their continued existence is our own fault. Yet when all is said the errors of the highest courts are few and the abuses and shortcomings to which I have referred can be cured by our own action. In the great mass of business, in the hundreds of trials which go on day by day and year by year, justice is done and the rights of all protected. We may declare with truth that in the courts as we have known them, the poor, the weak, the helpless, have found protection and sometimes their only defense. A mob might thunder at the gates, money might exert its utmost power, but there in the court room the judge could see only the law and justice. The safeguard of the rights and liberties of minorities and individuals, of the weak and above all of the unpopular, as a rule, has been found only in the court. And now it is proposed to undo all this and to make the judges dependent on the will of those upon whom they must pass judgment. If the framers of the Constitution were alive today they would not find a single new condition to affect their faith in an independent judiciary. They would decide now, as they decided then. Are we ready to reverse their judgment and open the doors to the flood of evils which will rush into the State as they always have rushed in when in times past the courts were controlled by an outside power?

The destruction of an independent judiciary carries with it everything else, but it only illustrates sharply the general theory pursued by the makers of the Constitution. They established a democracy and they believed that a democracy would be successful, but they also believed that it could succeed solely through forms and methods which would not make it impossible for the people to carry on their own government. For this reason it was that they provided against hasty action, guarded against passion and excitement, gave ample room for the cooler second thought and arranged that the popular will should be expressed through representative and deliberative assemblies and the laws administered and interpreted through independent courts. Those

who would destroy their work talk continually about trusting the people and obeying the people's will. But this is not what they seek. The statement as they make it is utterly misleading. That for which they really strive is to make the courts and the Congress suddenly and rapidly responsive to the will of a majority of the voters. It matters not that it may be a narrow, an ephemeral or fluctuating majority. To that temporary majority which the next year may be changed to a minority the Congress and the courts must at once respond. Legislation of the most radical, the most revolutionary character, may thus be forced upon the country not only without popular assent, but against the will of the great mass of the people.

The framers of the Constitution made it in the name and for the benefit of the people of the United States, for the entire people, not for any fraction or class of the people. They did not make the Constitution for the voters of the United States. They recognized that the popular will could only be expressed by those who voted and that the expression of the majority must in the end be final. But they restrained and made deliberate the action of the voters by the limitations placed upon the legislative, the executive, and the judicial branches, so that the rights of all the people might be guarded and protected against ill considered action on the part of those who vote. Those who now seek to alter the fundamental principles of the Constitution start with a confusion of terms and a false proposition. They talk glibly of the people. But they mean the voters and the voters are not the people, but a small portion of the people, not more than a fifth or a sixth part, who are endowed by law with the power to express what is to be regarded as the popular will. The legal voters are the representatives and trustees of all the inhabitants of the country, of all those under twenty-one to whom the future belongs, of all the women, of all resident aliens and of all persons not qualified to vote. They are the instrument, the only practicable instrument for reaching an expression of the popular will, but they are not the people as a whole for whom and for whose protection the Constitution was made. It was for the protection of the people that the makers of the Constitution made provisions to assure deliberate move-

ment and to prevent hasty, passionate or ill considered action. The purpose of those who would destroy the present Constitution is to remove these safeguards and for the people of the Constitution substitute without check, hindrance or delay, the will of the voters of the moment. They are blind to the awful peril of turning human nature loose to riot among first principles. But they do not stop even there. Under the system they propose a small minority of the voters who are themselves a minority of the people are to have unlimited power to compel the passage of laws. A small minority will be able, and as the experience of the voluntary referendum shows, will in almost every instance, contrive to place laws upon the statute book which the mass of the people really do not desire. A small minority can force the recall of a judge and drive him from the bench. The new system places the actual power in the hands of minorities, generally small, always interested and determined. Instead of government "by the people and for the people" we shall have government by factions with all the turbulence, disorder, and uncertainty that the rule of factions ever implies. Such a system is a travesty of popular government and the antipodes of true democracy. Under the same conditions of human nature, with no element of decision lacking then that we have now, the framers of the Constitution established the system under which we have flourished and rejected that which it is now proposed to set up and which all experience had shown to be a failure. Their system embodied in the Constitution has proved its efficacy. It has worked well and it has been an extraordinary success. The other, burdened with the failure of centuries, has always trodden the same path which revolves in the well worn, vicious circle from democracy to anarchy, from anarchy to despotism, and then by slow and painful steps back to the high levels of an intelligent freedom and an ordered liberty. Our ancestors sought to make it as impossible as human ingenuity could devise to drag democracy down by the pretense of giving it a larger scope. We are asked to retrace our steps, adopt what they rejected, take up that which has failed, cast down that which has triumphed and for government by the people substitute the rule of factions led by the eternal and unwearied

champions who in the name of the people seek the promotion which they lack.

Such are the questions which confront us today, amazing in their existence under a Constitution with such a history as ours. The evils which it is sought to remedy are all so far as they actually exist curable by law. No doubt evils exist, no doubt advance, reform, progress, improvements, are always needed as conditions change, but they can all be attained by law. There is no need to destroy the Constitution, to wreck the fundamental principles of democracy and of the Bill of Rights embodied in the first ten amendments, in order to attain to an amelioration of conditions, and to a wider and more beneficent social state when statutes can effect all and more than is demanded. It is not necessary to scuttle a noble ship in order to rid her of rats; it is not imperative to burn the strong well timbered house which has sheltered successive generations because there is a leak in the roof; it is only a madman who would hurl down in blackened ruin a noble palace, the work and care of centuries, because a stain easily erased may now and then be detected upon the shining whiteness of its marble walls.

All these questions, all these reforms and revolutions so gloriously portrayed to us, it can not be said too often, are very old. Their weakness is not that they are new, but that they are timeworn and outworn. The voices which are now crying so shrilly that we must destroy our Constitution and abandon all our principles of government have been heard

“In ancient days by Emperor and clown.”

They are as old as human discontent and human impatience and are as ancient as the flattery which has followed sovereign authority from the days of the Pharaohs to our own.

There is a familiar story, which we all heard as children, of the courtiers of Knut, King of England, a mighty warrior and a wise man, not destitute evidently of humor. These courtiers told the king that the tide would not dare to come in against his command and wet his feet. So he bade them place his chair near the edge of the sea and the main came silent, flooding in

about him, and you all remember the lesson which the king read to his flatterers. Many kings have come and gone since then and those who still remain, now for the most part walk in fetters. But the courtier is eternal and unchanged. He fawned on Pharaoh and Cæsar and from their day to our own has always been the worst enemy of those he flattered. He and his fellows contended bitterly in France for the privilege of holding the king's shirt and when the storm broke which they had done so much to conjure up, with few exceptions they turned like cravens and fled. New courtiers took the vacant places. They called themselves friends of the people, but their character was unaltered. They flattered the mob of the Paris streets, shrieking in the galleries of the convention with a baseness and a falsehood surpassing even those of their predecessors who had cringed around the throne. Where there is a sovereign there will be courtiers, and too often the sovereign has listened to the courtiers and turned his back on the loyal friends who were ready to die for him, but would not lie to him. Too often has the sovereign forgotten that, in the words of one of the most penetrating and most brilliant of modern English essayists, "a gloomy truth is a better companion through life than a cheerful falsehood." Across the centuries come those dangerous and insidious voices and they sound as loudly now and are as false now as ever. They are always at hand to tell the sovereign that at his feet the tide will cease to ebb and flow, that the laws of nature and economic laws alike will at his bidding turn gently and do his will. And the tides move on and the waves rise and the sovereign who has listened to the false and selfish voices is submerged in the waste of waters while the courtiers have rushed back to safety and from the heights above are already shouting, "The King is dead! Long live the King!"

I have a deep reverence for the great men who fought the Revolution and made the Constitution, but I repeat that I as little think that all wisdom died with them as I do that all wisdom was born yesterday. When they dealt with elemental questions and fundamental principles, the same yesterday, today and forever, in human history, I follow them because they

have proved their wisdom by their success. I am not ready to say with Donne,

"We are scarce our father's shadow cast at noon,"

but I am more than ready, I profoundly believe that we should cherish in our heart of hearts the noble and familiar words of the wise son of Sirach:

"Let us now praise famous men and our fathers that begat us. The Lord hath wrought great glory by them through his great power from the beginning. Leaders of the people by their counsels and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people; all these were honored in their generations and were the glory of their times.

"There be of them that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported. And some there be which have no memorial; who are perished as though they had never been; and are become as though they had never been born; and their children after them. But these were merciful men whose righteousness hath not been forgotten. With their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance and their children are within the covenant.

"Their seed standeth fast and their children for their sakes. Their seed shall remain forever and their glory shall not be blotted out. Their bodies are buried in peace; but their name liveth forevermore. The people will tell of their wisdom and the congregation will show forth their praise."

Books of the Year by North Carolinians

BY D. H. HILL, PRESIDENT OF THE NORTH CAROLINA AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE.

Classified as below I submit a list of the North Carolina books for the year, so far as I have been able to collect the names. If every author of a book would send a copy of his book to the North Carolina section of the State Library, the bibliography each year would be simple and accurate, and the State would take pride in having on its shelves copies of all its books. /

HISTORY.

Sketches of Pitt County, by Henry T. King.

The Origin and Growth of the American Constitution, by Hannis Taylor.

The North Carolina Booklet has been, as usual, a vehicle for the publication of valuable short articles on State history.

The James Sprunt Monographs in State History have also been continued.

FICTION.

Sixes and Sevens, by "O. Henry" (Sidney Porter).

Whirligigs, by "O. Henry" (Sidney Porter).

In the Nantahalas, by Mrs. W. E. Townsend.

Root of Evil, by Thomas Dixon, Jr.

Cicely, by Sarah Beaumont Kennedy.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of W. W. Holden. This is No. 2 of the John Lawson Monographs, published by the Trinity College Historical Society.

Life of Andrew Jackson, by John S. Bassett.

Tributes to My Father and Mother, by J. W. Battle.

A Grandmother's Recollections of Dixie, by Mrs. M. N. Bryan.

Statesmen of the Old South, by W. E. Dodd.

George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works, by Archibald Henderson.

Mark Twain, by Archibald Henderson.

J. L. McCurrie, by Edwin A. Alderman and Armistead C. Gordon.

VERSE.

Ways of Men, by F. H. Lyle.

North Carolina in Rhyme, by C. H. Johnson.

Poems, by Miss Shirley Pegram.

LEGAL BOOKS.

Banking and Negotiable Instruments, by George P. Pell.

The Constitution of the State of North Carolina, by Henry G. Connor and Jos. B. Cheshire, Jr.

TEXT-BOOKS.

A Primary Practical Arithmetic, by Mrs. F. L. Stevens and M. C. S. Noble.

Story of Cotton, by E. C. Brooks.

North Carolina Geography, by E. C. Brooks and W. D. Carmichael.

Makers of North Carolina History, by R. D. W. Connor.

A Study of Southern Poetry, by Henry Jerome Stockard.

The Twenty-seven Lines on the Cubic Surface, by Archibald Henderson.

Southern Oratory, compiled by J. Moore McConnell.

The Howell First Reader, by Logan D. Howell.

History of the United States, by J. G. deR. Hamilton and Messrs. Chandler and Riley.

Stevenson's Inland Voyage and Travels with a Donkey, edited by Edwin Mims.

MISCELLANEOUS BOOKS.

Early Morning Scenes in the Bible, by L. L. Nash.

Lectures on the Book of Revelation, by W. G. Nowell.

Lantern of Diogenes, by N. B. Herring.

Historical Activities in North Carolina

AN ADDRESS BY R. D. W. CONNOR BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, NOVEMBER 28, 1911.

Under the general term "Historical Activities" are included such activities as the erection of memorial tablets, monuments, statues, busts, the collection of portraits, manuscripts, printed documents, and newspapers, the general activities of patriotic and historical societies, and acts and resolutions of the General Assembly relating to historical matters. These activities, as will appear from the following report, were not confined to any one or two periods of our history, but reveal, on the contrary, a widespread interest in preserving the history of the State from colonial days to the very present.

FORT JOHNSTON TABLET.

The earliest event thus commemorated was the erection of Fort Johnston at the mouth of Cape Fear River. This old fortress, which in colonial days guarded the ports of Brunswick and Wilmington, was begun in 1746, completed in 1764, and destroyed in 1775. It was the scene of many interesting and important events at the outbreak of the Revolution, and in erecting a handsome marker on its site (May 23, 1911) the North Carolina Society, Colonial Dames of America, which has done so much for the preservation of our history, has placed the State under still further obligations to it. The following inscription on the tablet preserves the history of the fort:

THIS TABLET WAS ERECTED MAY, 1911, BY THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY OF COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA, TO MARK THE SITE OF FORT JOHNSTON, THE FIRST FORT IN THE PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA, BUILT UNDER ACT OF ASSEMBLY OF 1746, AND COMPLETED IN 1764, AND NAMED IN HONOR OF GOVERNOR GABRIEL JOHNSTON.

THE PATRIOTS OF THE CAPE FEAR, RESISTING THE EXECUTION OF THE STAMP ACT IN 1766, FORCED THE SPIKING OF ITS TWENTY-FOUR CANNON. THE GIFT OF KING GEORGE II.

THE FORT WAS THE REFUGE OF GOVERNOR JOSIAH MARTIN AFTER HIS FLIGHT FROM NEW BERN, MAY 24TH, 1775, UNTIL HE WAS COMPELLED BY THE PATRIOTS TO ABANDON IT, JULY 18TH, 1775, ON WHICH DAY IT WAS DESTROYED AND ROYAL GOVERNMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA CEASED.

THE SCOTTISH SOCIETY OF AMERICA.

The history of Fort Johnston is precisely coincident with the immigration into North Carolina of the Scotch-Highlanders, whose coming hither has so powerfully affected the history of this State. During the years 1746 to 1775 many thousands of these sturdy, self-reliant immigrants sailed into the Cape Fear and received their first welcome to the province in the salutes of the guns of Fort Johnston. In order that their influence on our history may not be forgotten and their memories may not perish, certain patriotic descendants of those gallant old Highlanders, on December 14, 1910, incorporated "The Scottish Society of America," with its principal office at Fayetteville. The objects of the Society as described by its charter are: (1) To rescue from oblivion Scottish history in North Carolina; (2) To promote a closer union in the State among those of Scottish descent; and (3) To encourage Scotch immigration to the State. The Society has before it a fertile field for cultivation if its work is properly pushed.

LIBERTY POINT MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.

The center of the Scotch-Highlanders' settlements in North Carolina was at Cross Creek, now Fayetteville. When the disputes between the Mother Country and her colonies reached an acute stage, the Highlanders, it is well known, espoused the cause of the former. However, there were Patriots, few in number but determined in spirit, even in the very stronghold of Toryism, and these Patriots, on June 20, 1775, met at Liberty Point in the immediate vicinity of Cross Creek, and signed a test binding themselves to maintain the cause of the colonies with their lives and fortunes. To commemorate this bold deed "The Liberty Point Monument Association" was incorporated by the last General Assembly of North Carolina. (Chapter 455, Private Laws of 1911.) The act recites the fact that

On the twentieth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, . . . certain citizens of the county of Cumberland, therein named, met at what is known as "Liberty Point," at the junction of Bow and Person streets, in the city of Fayetteville, and adopted what is known as "Liberty Point Resolutions," in which they declared their purpose and intent to become independent of the

then existing government of Great Britain, and pledged their lives and fortunes for the promotion thereof and establishment of self-government.

The purposes of the corporation are (1) To provide for the annual celebration of this event; (2) To erect a monument "to commemorate the bravery and patriotism of those who participated therein."

MOORE'S CREEK BRIDGE BATTLE GROUND COMPANY.

This test, however, bears the names of but few Highlanders. The great majority of the clansmen remained loyal to the throne, and when the royal governor called upon them, in 1776, to take up arms in support of the royal cause they responded with great enthusiasm. In February, 1776, 1,600 of them marched out of Cross Creek to join the British Army daily expected at Wilmington. They met defeat at the hands of the Patriots at Moore's Creek Bridge, February 27, 1776. On July 27, 1911, the Moore's Creek Bridge Battle Ground Company unveiled a monument on Moore's Creek battleground to mark the old Wilmington-Fayetteville stage road, the route taken by the Highlanders on this disastrous campaign. The monument bears the following inscription:

OLD WILMINGTON AND FAYETTEVILLE STAGE ROAD.

ROUTE TAKEN BY THE BRITISH AND TORY ARMY FROM CROSS CREEK TO JOIN LORD CORNWALLIS AND CLINTON AT WILMINGTON. THEY WERE DEFEATED IN THE BATTLE AT THIS PLACE. 850 WERE CAPTURED AS PRISONERS OF WAR.

FEB. 27, 1776.

GEORGE LOCKE TABLET.

The battle of Moore's Creek Bridge saved the South from conquest in the spring of 1776. Four years passed, Georgia and South Carolina lay at the feet of the conqueror, and again patriots looked to North Carolina to save the cause of American independence. In the autumn of 1780 Lord Cornwallis, flushed with his brilliant victory at Camden, marched upon Charlotte. Every step of his progress was stubbornly contested by North Carolina patriots. One of those who gave his young life for the cause of his country in this partisan warfare was Lieutenant

George Locke, who fell in a contest with the dreaded dragoons of Colonel Tarleton about seven miles northeast of Charlotte. On September 26, the Mecklenburg Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, marked the spot on which he fell with a tablet on which they inscribed the following lines:

LIEUTENANT GEORGE LOCKE

KILLED BY

TARLETON'S DRAGOONS

SEPT. 26, 1780.

MECKLENBURG CHAPTER

D. A. R.

1911.

ELIZABETH MAXWELL STEELE TABLET.

Lord Cornwallis's progress into North Carolina was interrupted by the American victory at King's Mountain, in October, 1780. In December following General Nathanael Greene took command of the American army in this State, and in the following spring led Cornwallis on his fatal chase across North Carolina. One day in the early part of 1781, a lone horseman, weary, wet and muddy, dismounted at the door of an unpretentious house in the frontier village of Salisbury. Nobody would have dreamed that this soiled, travel-stained fugitive was with one exception the most famous soldier in America. But an American surgeon, Dr. Read, recognized him, and in great astonishment exclaimed,

"Why, General Greene, are you alone?"

"Yes," replied the disconsolate soldier, "alone, tired, hungry, friendless, and penniless."

This melancholy reply was overheard by the lady of the house, Mrs. Elizabeth Maxwell Steele, and this patriotic woman determined that before the General left her house he should know that at least he was not friendless. While Greene was at dinner she entered the room and carefully closing the door behind her approached the soldier and laid before him two small bags of gold and silver coins, her savings for years, saying:

"Take these, General; you need them, and I can do without them."

On the very spot which witnessed her patriotic sacrifice the Daughters of the American Revolution, October 11, 1911, unveiled a handsome tablet to the memory of Mrs. Steele. The tablet bears the following inscription:

D. A. R.
THIS TABLET
IS ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF
ELIZABETH MAXWELL STEELE
PATRIOT
BY THE
ELIZABETH MAXWELL STEELE CHAPTER
DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
1781-1911.

GUILFORD BATTLE GROUND COMPANY.

Cheered by the spirit of this splendid woman General Greene pursued his way, safely rejoined his army, and on March 15, 1781, turned on Cornwallis and at Guilford Court House fought the pivotal battle of the Revolution. This famous battlefield has in recent years, as everybody knows, been developed into an historical park, through the work of the Guilford Battle Ground Company. During the past year the work of the Company has been devoted principally to improving and beautifying the Battle Ground Park. The board of directors on March 15, 1911, adopted a resolution to erect a monument to the late Colonel Joseph M. Morehead, so long the zealous and patriotic president of the company, and at the annual celebration on the battlefield, July 4, a memorial address on the life and services of Colonel Morehead was delivered by Hon. Cyrus B. Watson. At the same time the Society of the Sons of the Revolution, through its vice-president, Hon. J. Bryan Grimes, presented to the company a replica of an old battle flag, the original of which, now preserved in the Masonic Temple, at Raleigh, was carried at the battle of Guilford Court House by a North Carolina regiment under Colonel Ebenezer Fulsome. The flag differs from the present National standard in that its stripes are blue and red and the thirteen stars are blue on a white field. A notable achievement of the Guilford Battle Ground Company

during the past year was securing the passage through the National Congress of an act appropriating \$25,000 for the erection of a statue of General Nathanael Greene on the battleground. The contract for the statue is to be awarded December 15, 1911.

JOSEPH MONTFORT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION.

Two Revolutionary leaders whose memories have been honored during the past year were Joseph Montfort, of Halifax, and Benjamin Smith, of Brunswick.

Joseph Montfort, unfortunately for his own fame and for the good of his country, died at the very beginning of the struggle for independence. But in the initial stages of that contest he manifested a patriotic spirit and an ability in the cause of liberty which would undoubtedly have raised him to eminence among his countrymen. In the service of the colony he attained high position and as a member of the Masonic Order he reached the highest official position ever attained by an American. Accordingly, on February 13, 1911, the Joseph Montfort Memorial Association, an organization composed of Masons, erected at Halifax a handsome tablet to his memory, on which appears the following interesting inscription:

THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL
JOSEPH MONTFORT.
BORN IN ENGLAND A. D. 1724
DIED AT HALIFAX, N. C.
MARCH 25, A. D. 1776
APPOINTED PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF AND
FOR AMERICA ON JAN. 15, A. L. 5771 (A. D. 1771)
BY THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT
GRAND MASTER OF THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND A. F. AND A. M.
FIRST CLERK OF COURT OF HALIFAX COUNTY
TREASURER OF THE PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA
COLONEL OF COLONIAL TROOPS
MEMBER OF PROVINCIAL CONGRESS
ORATOR—STATESMAN—PATRIOT—SOLDIER
THE HIGHEST MASONIC OFFICIAL EVER REIGNING
ON THIS CONTINENT
THE FIRST—THE LAST—THE ONLY
GRAND MASTER OF AMERICA.

BENJAMIN SMITH.

Benjamin Smith attained distinction both in the military and in the civil service of the State. In the former he served with credit as aide-de-camp to Washington in the New York campaigns, and with conspicuous gallantry in the defense of Charleston in 1779; in the latter he served frequently in the General Assembly, as Governor in 1811, and for many years as Trustee of the University. On November 15, 1911, the North Carolina Society Sons of the Revolution, at their regular annual session in Raleigh, presented to the State a handsome portrait of Governor Smith. The portrait was presented on behalf of the Society by Professor Collier Cobb, of the University of North Carolina, and accepted for the State by the Governor, and has been hung in the Governor's office.

CENTER CHURCH.

During the years immediately preceding the Revolution a stream of sturdy settlers from the north of Ireland poured into the southern colonies and scattered throughout the hills and valleys of the Piedmont section of North Carolina and South Carolina. These Scotch-Irish settlers were intensely religious and almost to the man members of the Presbyterian church. After they had won their independence from England they immediately gave their attention to perfecting their church organization. On November 5, 1788, at the old Center Church in Iredell County, delegates from North Carolina and South Carolina met and organized the first Presbyterian Synod of the Carolinas.

On November 8, 1911, the Presbyterian Synod of North Carolina, in a body, visited the present Center Church, which stands on the site of the old colonial church, and with suitable ceremonies unveiled a tablet in commemoration of that interesting and significant event. The following inscription appears on the tablet:

TO COMMEMORATE THE
FIRST MEETING
OF
THE SYNOD OF THE CAROLINAS
NOVEMBER 5, 1788
IN
CENTER CHURCH.

THE OLD TOWN OF BLOOMSBURY.

The signing of a treaty of peace with England and the organization of an independent government made necessary the location of a permanent capital. In 1792 a site in Wake County was selected and the city of Raleigh was laid out. The new city absorbed the old town of Bloomsbury, originally the county seat of Wake, and soon Bloomsbury disappeared from the map. In its brief existence, however, Bloomsbury witnessed many interesting events in our history, and consequently it is appropriate that its site should be properly marked. On April 26, 1911, the Bloomsbury Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, with suitable ceremonies, unveiled a large boulder on the site at the corner of Boylan avenue and Morgan street, in the city of Raleigh, and on it fastened a handsome bronze tablet which bears the following inscription:

ON AND AROUND THIS SPOT
STOOD THE OLD TOWN OF
BLOOMSBURY

OR

WAKE COURT HOUSE

WHICH WAS ERECTED AND MADE THE COUNTY-SEAT WHEN
WAKE COUNTY WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1771.

THIS PLACE WAS THE RENDEZVOUS OF A PART OF GOVERNOR TRYON'S ARMY WHEN HE MARCHED AGAINST THE REGULATORS IN 1771; HERE MET THE STATE REVOLUTIONARY ASSEMBLY IN 1781; AND TO THIS VICINITY WAS REMOVED THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT WHEN THE CAPITAL CITY OF RALEIGH WAS INCORPORATED IN 1792.

WAR OF EIGHTEEN TWELVE.

The peace between the Mother Country and her revolting colonies was of short duration. England felt that her honor and prestige required that she wipe out the disgrace of her defeat at Yorktown, and she adopted a policy which finally goaded the United States into war. War accordingly broke out in 1812, but after two years of fierce struggle a treaty of peace was signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814. Since that time many disputes have arisen between these two kindred nations, some of which in other days would undoubtedly have led to war. But for nearly a century all such disputes have been settled by arbitration and the two great English speaking na-

tions have thus set to all the world an example which will ultimately lead to world peace. It is now proposed that in 1914 the United States, Great Britain, and Canada should join in fitly celebrating this hundred years of peace among English-speaking people. As North Carolina, through the services on sea of her distinguished adopted son, Johnston Blakeley, and on land through her famous native son, Andrew Jackson, contributed largely to the success of the young republic in that crisis of her career, so it is fitting that she participate in the celebration of this long reign of peace. The Legislature of 1911 accordingly provided for our participation in the celebration by adopting the following resolution:

WHEREAS, There will have existed peace among English-speaking people for one hundred years at the anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, December, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen, and all matters of dispute have been settled by arbitration, thus setting an example to all other nations, and it is intended to have an appropriate celebration of said anniversary by the people of Great Britain, Canada, and the United States, and a committee is to be appointed from all States: Now, therefore, the Governor is authorized to appoint four persons as members of said committee to act with it in the preparation of such measures as may tend to an appropriate celebration of the signing of the said Treaty of Ghent, which ended the war of one thousand eight hundred and twelve between Great Britain and the United States.

CONFEDERATE MONUMENTS.

Two great wars divide our history into three great epochs. The Revolution brought to a close the colonial period—The Epoch of Colonization and Settlement—and ushered in an epoch during which the South developed a marvelous social, industrial, and political system based on slave labor. The Civil War closed this period and ushered in the period of a varied industrial development. The Civil War was the great dividing line for the South from which for many years to come we shall reckon events. "Before the War" and "Since the War" are as thoroughly accepted terms in our vernacular for reckoning dates as "B. C." and "A. D." Naturally, therefore, our most striking historical activities have related for many years past, and will be related for many years to come with the events of the Civil War.

During the past year two monuments were unveiled in North Carolina to the soldiers of the Confederacy—one at Ashboro, the other at Elizabeth City. I regret that my inquiries have elicited no further information relative to the former. The latter, erected by the D. H. Hill Chapter, U. D. C., is a shaft surmounted by the figure of a Confederate soldier, standing at rest. Its total height is 30 feet; it cost \$2,650, and the inscriptions are as follows:

[North side:]

TO OUR CONFEDERATE DEAD.

[South side:]

1861-1865

OUR HEROES.

These two monuments by no means indicate fully the interest taken by the people of North Carolina in preserving the memory of the Confederate soldier.

During the past summer the Guilford Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, began a movement for the erection of a monument at Greensboro to the Confederate soldiers of Guilford County. The chapter reports great success in the raising of funds, but it has most wisely determined not to erect a monument until it has raised a sum large enough to secure one worthy of the object. In this respect the chapter would do well to keep before its eyes the notable achievement of the Robert F. Hoke Chapter, at Salisbury.

Acts of the General Assembly of 1911 display unusual liberality toward the work of erecting memorials to the soldiers of the Confederacy on the part of a considerable number of counties and towns. The Board of Commissioners of Burke County was authorized to appropriate as much as \$1,500 toward the erection of a monument at Morganton "in memory of the bravery and devotion of the Confederate soldiers of Burke County in the Civil War." The Franklin County commissioners were given permission to appropriate \$1,000 to aid in "the erection of a monument in the town of Louisburg, Franklin County, to perpetuate the memory of the Confederate soldiers who took part in the late Civil War, 1861-1865, and especially those who enlisted in the service of that sacred cause from the

county of Franklin." Similar acts were passed for Hertford County, authorizing \$1,000; Lincoln County, authorizing \$300; Macon County, authorizing \$1,000; Nash County, authorizing \$250; Polk County, authorizing \$1,500; Sampson County, authorizing \$1,000; Scotland County, authorizing \$500; Person County, authorizing \$1,000; Stanly County, authorizing the commissioners to appropriate so much money "as they may feel warranted in expending to aid in the erection of said monument"; the town of Rockingham, authorizing \$500, and the town of Roxboro, authorizing \$1,000. If all these counties and towns avail themselves of these acts they will expend on Confederate monuments more than \$10,000, and in each case the act provides that the Daughters of the Confederacy must raise equal amounts, making a total of more than \$20,000. That these patriotic societies will raise their amounts their past achievements leave us no room to doubt.

COMPANY "B," SECOND REGIMENT, NORTH CAROLINA STATE TROOPS.

Chapter 11, Private Laws of 1911, incorporates the surviving members of Company "B," Second Regiment, North Carolina State Troops. Those eligible in the corporation are (1) soldiers who served in the company while it was "in the active service of the State of North Carolina or of the Confederate States of America"; (2) lineal descendants of such soldiers. The purposes of the corporation are declared to be:

(a) To provide for meetings from time to time of the surviving members of said Company B, 2d Regiment, North Carolina State Troops, and of the descendants of deceased members of said company for mutual pleasure and improvement.

(b) To keep fresh in the minds of the said members of the said company the memory of those of their comrades who have passed away and to perpetuate their names and services as soldiers and as citizens, among their descendants.

(c) To preserve a suitable record of the services of the said Company B, 2d Regiment, North Carolina State Troops, to the State of North Carolina and to the Confederate States of America and to preserve and perpetuate the history of the said company, its officers and men, both during and since the Civil War, that their descendants may know and appreciate the patriotic purposes which inspired their forefathers to take up and bear arms in defense of their State from 1861 to 1865.

(d) To foster, stimulate and encourage among the descendants of the members of the said company a love of the State and country by preserving a true and accurate record of the said company and causing to be prepared a history of its service and of the lives of its members, both as soldiers and as citizens.

GEORGE DAVIS STATUE.

These activities look to the perpetuation of the daring and valor of the private soldiers. But we ought not to be forgetful of the great leaders of the Civil War. Among these leaders none deserve to take precedence of George Davis, Confederate States Senator, 1862-1864, and Attorney-General of the Confederacy, 1864-1865. The most notable event among the historical activities of the year was the unveiling at Wilmington, April 20, 1911, of an heroic bronze statue of Mr. George Davis, presented to the city by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The statue stands on an eminence in the center of Market Street Plaza, at the intersection of Third Street, near the site of the headquarters of Lord Cornwallis when he occupied Wilmington after his disastrous victory at Guilford Court House in 1781. Nothing could be more appropriate than the selection of this historic site for the statue of George Davis, who did more to preserve the history of the Cape Fear section from neglect and oblivion than any other man. The western face of the pedestal has upon it the seals of the State of North Carolina and of the Confederacy in inlaid gilt bronze. Upon this face of the monument and above the medallions are these words:

GEORGE DAVIS
SENATOR AND ATTORNEY GENERAL
OF THE
CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

[Below the medallions:]

1820-1896.

[On the southern side of the pedestal are these words:]

SCHOLAR
PATRIOT
STATESMAN
CHRISTIAN.

[On the eastern side of the pedestal is the following inscription:]

HIS WISDOM ILLUSTRATED THE PRINCIPLES OF LAW
AND EQUITY. HIS ELOQUENCE COMMANDED THE AD-
MIRATION OF HIS PEERS. BELOVED FOR HIS STAIN-
LESS INTEGRITY HIS MEMORY DWELLS IN THE HEARTS
OF HIS PEOPLE. SHINING IN THE PURE EXCELLENCE
OF VIRTUE AND REFINEMENT, HE EXEMPLIFIED WITH
DIGNITY AND SIMPLICITY, WITH GENTLE COURTESY AND
CHRISTIAN FAITH THE TRUE HEART OF CHIVALRY IN
SOUTHERN MANHOOD.

[On the north side:]

ERECTED IN LOVING MEMORY
BY THE
UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY.

ANDREW JOHNSON MONUMENT.

A native North Carolinian who attained eminence during the Civil War was Andrew Johnson. Though at one time slightly in disfavor in the South, yet as we become removed further and further from the struggle of the sixties, as our animosities become mellowed by time, and as our perspective upon great historical events and characters of that period becomes clearer, we can see that for his manly stand in behalf of their rights in the dark days of Reconstruction Andrew Johnson deserves well of the Southern people. We ought to welcome, it seems to me, an opportunity to honor his memory. That opportunity has come. On April 27, 1911, Hon. Edward W. Pou, Representative in Congress from the Fifth Congressional District, introduced in the House of Representatives the following bill:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended by the Raleigh Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Merchants Association of the City of Raleigh, under the direction of the Secretary of War, for the erection of a heroic bronze statue of the late President Andrew Johnson on the United States Government grounds in the city of Raleigh, North Carolina: *Provided*, that the design for said statue shall be approved by the Secretary of War and by the Raleigh Chamber of Commerce and Industry and by the Merchants Association of said city.

DAVID SCHENCK AND JOSEPH M. MOREHEAD.

"Since the War" North Carolina's most notable achievements have been in the field of education. It is not remarkable, therefore, that the historical activities of the year bearing upon this period of our history were all in commemoration of work in education.

Distinctly educational was the work of David Schenck and Joseph M. Morehead at the Guilford Battle Ground. Their success in clearing the memory of the North Carolina soldiers who participated in the critical battle of Guilford Court House from charges of cowardice and disobedience of orders deserves the gratitude of all North Carolinians who love their State and her good name; and their work in converting that historic battleground from an old field into a beautiful historical park deserves the thanks of Americans everywhere. In the following the last General Assembly paid a deserved tribute to their memory which voices the universal sentiment of our people:

WHEREAS, David Schenck and Joseph M. Morehead, as presidents of the Guilford Court House Battle Ground Association, gave largely and devotedly of their time and means to the preservation of the Guilford Court House Battle Ground, and rendered distinguished service to the State and Nation by arresting the attention of mankind and fixing it upon the heroic deeds of the American patriots upon that historic scene of conflict between the American Revolutionary and British forces; and whereas, the untiring efforts of the said David Schenck and James M. Morehead made possible the fulfillment of the wish cherished by many, that at Guilford Court House Battle Ground their children and their children's children might throughout all time read in bronze and marble the deeds of valor and self-sacrifice of their ancestors and tread the soil made sacred by the blood of martyrs to the cause of freedom; whereas, said services merit public recognition and an expression of the appreciation of a grateful people: now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate, the House concurring:

First, that the State of North Carolina, through its General Assembly, give public acknowledgment of its debt of gratitude for the services of these distinguished dead.

M'IVER STATUE.

The most distinguished educational leader in the history of North Carolina was the late Charles D. McIver.

During the year the committee in charge of the fund for erecting a statue of Dr. McIver, placed its order with Mr. F. W. Ruckstuhl, and the statue will be unveiled some time in the early part of the year 1912.

EMMA HEARNE SOUTHERLAND TABLET.

A well deserved tribute was paid to the work of a faithful teacher when a tablet was unveiled in the auditorium of the Mount Olive Graded School, March 1, 1911, to the memory of Mrs. Emma Hearne Southerland. The tablet was erected by The Twentieth Century Club of that town, which Mrs. Southerland organized. The inscription is:

IN MEMORIAM
EMMA HEARNE SOUTHERLAND
ERECTED BY
THE TWENTIETH CENTURY CLUB
1911.

PORTRAIT OF AUGUSTUS LEAZAR.

On May 30, 1911, in the auditorium of Pullen Hall, at the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, the Leazar Literary Society presented to the College a portrait of Augustus Leazar, soldier, teacher, legislator, and author of the act founding the college.

DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

Several patriotic and historical societies have been at work whose activities were not limited to any particular period of our history.

The Daughters of the Revolution, during the year, presented medals for essays in North Carolina history to the city schools of Edenton, Raleigh, Elizabeth City, and New Bern, and awarded a scholarship for historical work to a pupil of the Edenton city schools. They have also continued the publication of the North Carolina Booklet.

THE WACHOVIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Wachovia Historical Society made a number of additions to its collections of particular interest in illustrating the

industrial life of the Moravian settlements. Quarters are now being prepared by the Society for the care and preservation of the archives of the Moravian Church of North Carolina.

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The North Carolina Historical Society, in addition to the program carried out at its regular meetings, has made a tentative study of the life of the negroes of Chapel Hill with a view to a publication on the subject at some future time. The society acquired during the year twenty bound volumes of North Carolina newspapers, and issued two volumes of the James Sprunt Historical Publications.

TRINITY COLLEGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

During the year the Trinity College Historical Society published "The Memoirs of W. W. Holden," being volume II of the John Lawson Monographs. The Society has added materially to its collections, notably to its newspaper files and, through coöperation with the Trinity College Library, has completed its file of the laws of North Carolina.

STATE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING.

The most notable achievement in the interest of history and historical studies of the past year was the passage by the General Assembly of a bill appropriating \$250,000 for the erection of a fireproof building in this city primarily for the safe keeping of the public libraries and historical collections of the State. I speak of this as an achievement in the interest of history because it is a well known fact that the movement for such a building originated with this Association and it is equally well known that the desire to make adequate provisions for the care of the State's libraries and historical collections was the motive which induced the Legislature to make the appropriation. Indeed the act itself cites, as the necessity for such a building, the fact that as "valuable libraries, priceless manuscripts, historic relics, many records and much [public] property are housed in many separate and unfit buildings, exposed to constant danger from fire," therefore "it is imperatively necessary that larger

and safer quarters be provided for them," and consequently it was enacted that "a fireproof building, adequate for the purposes intended and required, should be erected."

In this building, which is to be erected at the head of Fayetteville Street, facing on Morgan Street and overlooking the Capitol Square, commodious and convenient quarters are to be provided for the State Library and the State Historical Commission. To the former the Building Commission has assigned the first floor, to the latter the second floor. On this floor will be provided offices for the Historical Commission, a Document Room for the filing of the Commission's manuscripts and archives of the State, an exhibition hall for the exhibition of manuscripts, a Hall of History for the preservation of historic relics, a Portrait Gallery, reading rooms for students, and other facilities for the work of the Historical Commission.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

Nothing can better illustrate the growth in importance and in public interest of the work of the North Carolina Historical Commission than the willingness of the General Assembly to make such generous provisions for its present needs and its future expansion.

MANUSCRIPTS.

The chief activities of the Historical Commission during the past year have been in the collection of manuscripts. It is impossible to state accurately how many historical documents have been added to the State's collections in this way, but speaking conservatively the number can not fall short of ten thousand. Among them are the letters and papers of William A. Graham, Archibald D. Murphey, David L. Swain, the Pettigrew family (notably the papers of Bishop-elect Charles Pettigrew, Congressman Ebenezer Pettigrew, and General J. Johnston Pettigrew), and a large collection of miscellaneous manuscripts. From Mrs. J. F. Minis, of Savannah, Ga., the Historical Commission has received several valuable military maps of Eastern North Carolina, made for the Confederate Government by her father, Major-General J. F. Gilmer, chief of the Bureau of Engineers, C. S. A., a native of North Carolina.

THE RANSOM BUST.

During the past year the Historical Commission has been the means of securing for the State handsome busts of three of her most eminent sons.

On March 4, 1910, Hon. Robert W. Winston, a former President of this Association, addressed a communication to the North Carolina Historical Commission stating that he had in hand funds sufficient for the erection of a bust of former United States Senator Matt W. Ransom, and placing the same at the disposal of the Historical Commission, to be used for placing a bust of Senator Ransom in the rotunda of the State Capitol. The Historical Commission accepted Judge Winston's generous offer, and placed an order for the bust with Mr. F. W. Ruckstuhl, a well known sculptor of New York. On January 11, 1911, in the presence of the State Literary and Historical Association, the Governor of North Carolina, and the General Assembly of the State, the bust, occupying the niche on the southwest side of the rotunda, was unveiled and presented to the State. As Attorney-General of the State, as Major-General in the Confederate States Army, and as Senator in the Congress of the United States for twenty-three years, Matt W. Ransom rendered services to North Carolina which entitle him to high rank among her public men, and justly deserves this tribute to his memory.

JOHNSTON AND MOREHEAD BUSTS.

During the year through the generosity of the Grand Lodge of Masons the State Historical Commission has been enabled to place an order for the bust of Samuel Johnston, Governor from 1787 to 1789, and first United States Senator from North Carolina; and through the liberality of his grandsons, Hon. J. M. Morehead and Hon. Lindsay Patterson, the Historical Commission has been enabled to place an order for a bust of John M. Morehead, Governor from 1841 to 1845. These busts are to be delivered within the next few days, and in due time will be set up in the rotunda of the Capitol.

For seventy years the four niches on the lower floor of the rotunda, especially designed for busts of eminent public servants, remained empty. On January 12, 1910, the first one was

filled, and before 1912 sets in, busts will have been set up in every niche on the lower floor of the rotunda of the Capitol.

THE WILEY BUST.

It is a most interesting fact as illustrating the awakened interest in this kind of work in North Carolina, that, although not a stone has yet been laid for the new State Administration Building, yet already one handsome marble bust and one life-size bronze statue are being prepared to be set up therein immediately upon its completion—the former to an educator, the latter to a great jurist.

A few years ago the school children of North Carolina started a movement to raise a fund, by penny collections, to have erected a bust of Calvin H. Wiley, the first Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1853-1865, in North Carolina. During the first year an order for this bust was placed with Mr. George Gray Barnard, one of the best known of American sculptors, who will complete his work some time during the coming year.

RUFFIN BUST.

Last summer the State Bar Association adopted a resolution to raise funds for the erection of a statue of Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin in the new State Building. Yesterday the committee in charge reported that the necessary funds were in hand and appointed a sub-committee to select the sculptor and award the contract.

HALL OF HISTORY.

The Director of the Hall of History reports that in his work the year has been "a very quiet one," because all the available space in the hall has already been filled. A number of objects have been added, but none of marked importance. "The collection embraces at present something over 8,300 objects." The Director estimates the number of visitors to the Hall of History during the year at 75,000.

SUMMARY.

Summarizing this report it appears that during the past year—or to be more exact, during the last ten months, as it has not

been quite a year since our last meeting—there have been the following historical activities in North Carolina:

1. There were erected eight memorial tablets.
2. Three statues and monuments were erected, and plans were completed for the erection of seventeen others.
3. Busts of four eminent men were executed.
4. Two portraits of persons distinguished in our history were presented to the State.
5. Three patriotic societies, designed to commemorate specific events, were organized.
6. The General Assembly provided ample quarters for the State Library and the State Historical Commission.
7. The State Historical Commission secured an addition to its collections of more than 10,000 manuscripts.

The Patterson Memorial Cup

The Conditions of Award Officially Set Forth by Mrs. Patterson

To the President and Executive Committee of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina:

As a memorial to my father, and with a view to stimulating effort among the writers of North Carolina, and to awaken among the people of the State an interest in their own literature, I desire to present to your Society a loving cup upon the following stipulations, which I trust will meet with your approval, and will be found to be just and practicable:

(1) The cup will be known as the "William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup."

(2) It will be awarded at each annual meeting of your Association for ten successive years, beginning with October, 1905.

(3) It will be given to that resident of the State who, during the twelve months from September 1st of the previous year to September 1st of the year of the award, has displayed, either in prose or poetry, without regard to its length, the greatest excellence and the highest literary skill and genius. The work must be published during the said twelve months and no manuscript nor any unpublished writings will be considered.

(4) The name of the successful competitor will be engraved upon the cup, with the date of award, and it will remain in his possession until October 1st of the following year, when it shall be returned to the Treasurer of the Association, to be by him held in trust until the new award at your annual meeting that month. It will become the permanent possession of the one winning it oftenest during the ten years, provided he shall have won it three times. Should no one, at the expiration of that period, have won it so often, the competition shall continue until that result is reached. The names of only those competitors who shall be living at the time of the final award shall be considered in the permanent disposition of the cup.

(5) The Board of Award shall consist of the President of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, who will act as chairman, and of the occupants of the Chairs of English Literature at the University of North Carolina, at Davidson College, at Wake Forest College, and at the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Raleigh, and of the Chairs of History at the University of North Carolina and at Trinity College.

(6) If any of these gentlemen should decline or be unable to serve, their successors shall be appointed by the remaining members of the Board, and these appointees may act for the whole unexpired term or for a shorter time, as the Board may determine. Notice of the

inability of any member to act must be given at the beginning of the year during which he declines to serve, so that there may be a full committee during the entire term of each year.

(7) The publication of a member of the Board will be considered and passed upon in the same manner as that of any other writer.

MRS. J. LINDSAY PATTERSON.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTION.

According to a resolution adopted at the 1908 session of the Literary and Historical Association, it is also provided that no author desiring to have his work considered in connection with the award of the Cup shall communicate with any member of the committee, either personally or through a representative. Books or other publications to be considered, together with any communications regarding them, must be sent to the Secretary of the Association and by him presented to the chairman of the committee for consideration.

Sustaining Members

Col. A. B. Andrews.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. A. B. Andrews.....	Raleigh, N. C.
J. B. Blades.....	New Bern, N. C.
Col. Benehan Cameron.....	Stagville, N. C.
Gen. Julian S. Carr.....	Durham, N. C.
Mrs. G. P. Collins.....	Hillsboro, N. C.
Ceasar Cone	Greensboro, N. C.
Junius Davis	Wilmington, N. C.
Euzelian Literary Society.....	Wake Forest, N. C.
C. N. Evans.....	Wilmington, N. C.
Dr. R. H. Lewis.....	Raleigh, N. C.
P. Pearsall	Wilmington, N. C.
Dr. Joseph Hyde Pratt.....	Chapel Hill, N. C.
W. D. Pruden.....	Edenton, N. C.
Mrs. R. J. Reynolds.....	Winston-Salem, N. C.
Mrs. W. N. Reynolds	Winston-Salem, N. C.
James Sprunt	Wilmington, N. C.
Jas. Alvis Walker.....	Wilmington, N. C.
Judge Platt D. Walker.....	Charlotte, N. C.
Geo. W. Watts.....	Durham, N. C.
Mrs. W. W. Watt.....	Charlotte, N. C.

Regular Members

Mrs. M. R. Adams.....	Statesville, N. C.
W. H. Albright.....	Littleton, N. C.
Prof. J. T. Alderman.....	Henderson, N. C.
C. L. Alexander.....	Charlotte, N. C.
George Allen	Raleigh, N. C.
W. M. Allen.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Prof. Ivey Allen	Louisburg, N. C.
Judge W. R. Allen.....	Goldsboro, N. C.
Phil H. Andrews.....	Raleigh, N. C.
A. B. Andrews, Jr.....	Raleigh, N. C.
W. J. Andrews.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. W. J. Andrews.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Dr. Albert Anderson.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. Albert Anderson.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Miss Violet G. Alexander.....	Charlotte, N. C.
Frank Armfield	Monroe, N. C.
W. J. Armfield.....	High Point, N. C.
T. M. Arrington.....	Rocky Mount, N. C.
Mrs. C. D. Arthur.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Capt. S. A. Ashe.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Will D. Avera.....	R. 1, Smithfield, N. C.

Judge A. C. Avery.....	Morganton, N. C.
E. F. Aydlett.....	Elizabeth City, N. C.
Hon. C. B. Aycock.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. C. B. Aycock.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Dr. Henry T. Bahnson.....	Winston-Salem, N. C.
Mrs. Henry T. Bahnson.....	Winston-Salem, N. C.
Miss Mattie A. Bailey.....	Raleigh, N. C.
J. W. Bailey.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. A. L. Baker.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Miss Sallie S. Baker.....	Palmyra, N. C.
Jesse G. Ball.....	Raleigh, N. C.
D. C. Barnes.....	Murfreesboro, N. C.
Mrs. J. M. Barbee.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. C. E. Barbee.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Rev. Milton A. Barber.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Prof. Allan J. Barwick.....	Newton, N. C.
Wm. G. Battle.....	Tarboro, N. C.
Dr. Kemp P. Battle.....	Chapel Hill, N. C.
Dr. K. P. Battle, Jr.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. K. P. Battle, Jr.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Dr. R. H. Battle.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Thos. H. Battle.....	Rocky Mount, N. C.
Jacob Battle.....	Rocky Mount, N. C.
M. J. Battle.....	Whitakers, N. C.
Dr. S. Westray Battle.....	Asheville, N. C.
Miss Bessie Bates.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Miss Grace H. Bates.....	Raleigh, N. C.
A. P. Bauman.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Dr. Louis G. Beall.....	Morganton, N. C.
Dr. W. P. Beall.....	Greensboro, N. C.
Mrs. S. E. Bear.....	Raleigh, N. C.
R. F. Beasley.....	Monroe, N. C.
E. C. Beddingfield.....	Raleigh, N. C.
W. H. Belk.....	Charlotte, N. C.
John D. Bellamy.....	Wilmington, N. C.
Judge R. T. Bennett.....	Wadesboro, N. C.
Miss Margaret Bessent.....	Winston-Salem, N. C.
W. E. Beville.....	Greensboro, N. C.
Hon. T. W. Bickett.....	Louisburg, N. C.
Mrs. T. W. Bickett.....	Louisburg, N. C.
Col. Robert Bingham.....	Asheville, N. C.
J. Crawford Biggs.....	Durham, N. C.
Mrs. J. Crawford Biggs.....	Durham, N. C.
Miss Mary S. Birdsong.....	Raleigh, N. C.
O. W. Blacknall.....	Kittrell, N. C.

Miss Blanche Barrus.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Prof. I. C. Blair.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Prof. J. A. Bivins.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. J. A. Bivins.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Prof. J. J. Blair.....	Wilmington, N. C.
Wm. A. Blair.....	Winston-Salem, N. C.
Miss Maud Bohannon.....	Winston-Salem, N. C.
W. R. Bond.....	Scotland Neck, N. C.
C. P. Bolles, Jr.....	Wilmington, N. C.
Miss Lottie Hale Bonner.....	Aurora, N. C.
R. T. Bonner.....	Aurora, N. C.
J. D. Boushall.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. J. D. Boushall.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Dr. Wm. K. Boyd.....	Durham, N. C.
J. C. Braswell.....	Rocky Mount, N. C.
A. G. Brenizer.....	Charlotte, N. C.
Miss Caroline M. Brevard.....	577 Monroe St., Tallahassee, Fla.
J. L. Bridges.....	Tarboro, N. C.
T. H. Briggs.....	Raleigh, N. C.
H. H. Brimley.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Miss Mabel Borden.....	Goldsboro, N. C.
L. C. Brogden.....	Raleigh, N. C.
F. H. Brooks.....	Smithfield, N. C.
Prof. E. C. Brooks.....	Durham, N. C.
N. B. Broughton.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Jos. G. Brown.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. Jos. G. Brown.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Miss Bessie Brown.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Frank B. Brown.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Rev. B. E. Brown.....	Tarboro, N. C.
Dr. F. C. Brown.....	Durham, N. C.
Geo. H. Brown.....	Raleigh, N. C.
H. A. Brown.....	Columbia, Tenn.
J. A. Brown.....	Chadbourn, N. C.
Prof. Wade R. Brown.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. Wade R. Brown.....	Raleigh, N. C.
J. D. Bruner.....	Murfreesboro, N. C.
Col. J. F. Bruton.....	Wilson, N. C.
Judge A. Burwell.....	Charlotte, N. C.
W. O. Burgin.....	Thomasville, N. C.
Perrin Busbee.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Jaques Busbee.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Judge Wm. P. Bynum.....	Greensboro, N. C.
Miss Bettie Caldwell.....	Greensboro, N. C.
Miss Sallie Shepherd Camp.....	Franklin, Va.

R. T. Campbell.....	Asheville, N. C.
D. D. Carroll.....	Guilford College, N. C.
T. H. Calvert.....	Raleigh, N. C.
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J. Macaulay Costner.....	Chapel Hill, N. C.
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Miss C. L. Shoffner.....	Winston-Salem, N. C.
Dr. Geo. Summey, Jr.....	West Raleigh, N. C.
W. H. Sprunt.....	Wilmington, N. C.
Rev. Alexander Sprunt.....	Charleston, S. C.
R. C. Strudwick.....	Greensboro, N. C.
E. Strudwick	Richmond, Va.
R. H. Sykes.....	Durham, N. C.
Morgan B. Stickley.....	Concord, N. C.
J. Allen Taylor.....	Wilmington, N. C.
Walker Taylor	Wilmington, N. C.
J. W. Thackston.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. J. W. Thackston.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. Thad. W. Thrash.....	Tarboro, N. C.
Miss O. I. Tillman.....	Raleigh, N. C.
E. W. Timberlake.....	Wake Forest, N. C.
Miss Lillian Thompson.....	Winston-Salem, N. C.
Prof. D. Matt Thompson.....	Statesville, N. C.
John W. Thompson.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. M. B. Terrell.....	Raleigh, N. C.
F. C. Teepleman.....	Henderson, N. C.
Mrs. F. L. Townsend.....	Lincolnton, N. C.

Dr. V. E. Turner.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. V. E. Turner.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Rev. W. C. Tyree.....	High Point, N. C.
Prof. B. Y. Tyner.....	Wingate, N. C.
Miss Edna Tyner.....	Bules, N. C.
Rev. C. H. Utley.....	Cooleemee, N. C.
Dr. R. T. Vann.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. R. T. Vann.....	Raleigh, N. C.
L. R. Varser.....	Lumberton, N. C.
W. W. Vass.....	Raleigh, N. C.
J. Van Lindley.....	Pomona, N. C.
Mrs. John Van Landinham.....	Charlotte, N. C.
C. L. Van Noppen.....	Greensboro, N. C.
Dr. F. P. Venable.....	Chapel Hill, N. C.
Mrs. Chas. W. Volger.....	Winston-Salem, N. C.
Miss Jane Ward.....	Raleigh, N. C.
W. W. Watt.....	Charlotte, N. C.
Miss Daisy Bailey Waitt.....	Greenville, N. C.
H. M. Wagstaff.....	Chapel Hill, N. C.
Col. A. M. Waddell.....	Wilmington, N. C.
R. W. Walker.....	Chapel Hill, N. C.
H. S. Ward.....	Washington, N. C.
A. H. Washburn.....	Charlotte, N. C.
Miss Kate McArn Watson.....	Maxton, N. C.
Prof. L. D. Watson.....	Raleigh, N. C.
E. P. Wharton.....	Greensboro, N. C.
Mrs. E. P. Wharton.....	Greensboro, N. C.
Henry Well	Goldsboro, N. C.
Sol. Weil	Goldsboro, N. C.
Miss Gertrude Weil.....	Goldsboro, N. C.
Wm. Shaw West.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. H. Walter Whichard.....	Norfolk, Va.
Miss Mattie A. Whitaker.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Miss Sue M. Whitaker.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Miss Julia S. White.....	Guilford College, N. C.
M. S. Willard.....	Wilmington, N. C.
Miss Ruth Cleveland Williams.....	Franklin, Va.
S. E. Williams.....	Lexington, N. C.
Wm. H. Williamson.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. Wm. H. Williamson.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Frank Wilkes	Charlotte, N. C.
Mrs. H. deB. Wills.....	Chapel Hill, N. C.
H. V. Wilson.....	Chapel Hill, N. C.

R. N. Wilson.....	Guilford College, N. C.
Louis R. Wilson.....	Chapel Hill, N. C.
Hon. B. B. Winborne.....	Murfreesboro, N. C.
J. W. Winborne.....	Marion, N. C.
Dr. Geo. T. Winston.....	Asheville, N. C.
Hon. Francis D. Winston.....	Windsor, N. C.
Judge Robt. W. Winston.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. R. W. Winston.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Miss Lina O. Wiggins.....	Lynchburg, Va.
Mrs. J. M. Winfree.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Jas. M. Wright.....	R. 2, Laurinburg, N. C.
Wachovia Historical Society.....	Winston-Salem, N. C.
J. H. Wisler.....	Moncure, N. C.
W. A. Withers.....	Raleigh, N. C.
C. A. Woodard.....	Durham, N. C.
Hon. F. A. Woodard.....	Wilson, N. C.
Frank Wood.....	Edenton, N. C.
H. G. Wood.....	Edenton, N. C.
W. P. Wood.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Miss Ada V. Womble.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Louis D. Womble, Jr.....	Raleigh, N. C.
A. H. Yerby.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Hon. J. R. Young.....	Raleigh, N. C.
Miss S. E. Young.....	Raleigh, N. C.



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
THIRTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION
OF THE
State Literary and Historical Association
of North Carolina

RALEIGH,
December 3-4, 1912

Compiled by
CLARENCE POE,
Secretary

RALEIGH, N. C.
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING CO., STATE PRINTERS
1913

RECORD OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

(Organized October, 1900.)

<i>Fiscal Years.</i>	<i>Presidents.</i>	<i>Secretaries.</i>	<i>Paid up Membership.</i>
1900-1901	WALTER CLARK.....	ALEX J. FEILD.....	150
1901-1902	HENRY G. CONNOR.....	ALEX J. FEILD.....	139
1902-1903	WILLIAM LOUIS POTEAT.....	GEORGE S. FRAPS.....	73
1903-1904	C. ALPHONSO SMITH.....	CLARENCE POE.....	127
1904-1905	ROBERT W. WINSTON.....	CLARENCE POE.....	109
1905-1906	CHARLES B. AYCOCK.....	CLARENCE POE.....	185
1906-1907	W. D. PRUDEN.....	CLARENCE POE.....	301
1907-1908	ROBERT BINGHAM.....	CLARENCE POE.....	273
1908-1909	JUNIUS DAVIS.....	CLARENCE POE.....	311
1909-1910	PLATT D. WALKER.....	CLARENCE POE.....	440
1910-1911	EDWARD K. GRAHAM.....	CLARENCE POE.....	425
1911-1912	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	CLARENCE POE.....	479
1912-1913	W. P. FEW.....	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	**

AWARDS OF PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP.

- 1905—JOHN CHARLES McNEILL, for poems later reprinted in book form as "Songs, Merry and Sad." (Presentation by Theodore Roosevelt.)
- 1906—EDWIN MIMS, for "Life of Sidney Lanier." (Presentation by Fabius H. Busbee.)
- 1907—KEMP PLUMMER BATTLE. "History of the University." (Presentation by Francis D. Winston.)
- 1908—SAMUEL A'COURT ASHE. "History of North Carolina." (Presentation by Thomas Nelson Page.)
- 1909—CLARENCE POE. "A Southerner in Europe." (Presentation by Ambassador James Bryce.)
- 1910—R. D. W. CONNOR. "Cornelius Harnett: An Essay in North Carolina History." (Presentation by T. W. Bickett.)
- 1911—ARCHIBALD HENDERSON. "Bernard Shaw." (Presentation by Hon. Lee S. Overman.)
- 1912—CLARENCE POE. "Where Half the World is Waking Up." (Presentation by Walter H. Page.)

WHAT THE ASSOCIATION HAS ACCOMPLISHED FOR THE STATE— SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENTS INAUGURATED BY IT.

1. Rural school libraries.
2. "North Carolina Day" in the schools.
3. The North Carolina Historical Commission.
4. Vance statue in Statuary Hall (to be erected soon).
5. Fire-proof State Library and Hall of Records.
6. Civil War battlefields marked to show North Carolina's record.
7. North Carolina's war record defended and war claims vindicated.
8. The Patterson Memorial Cup.
9. Lecture Extension Work started in leading cities and towns.
10. A program of Library Extension Work begun.

**Records not complete till end of fiscal year.

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Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association

RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA, DECEMBER 3 AND 4, 1912

The Thirteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association was called to order in the Auditorium of the city of Raleigh on Tuesday evening, December 3rd, at 8 o'clock, with President R. D. W. Connor in the chair.

Prayer was offered by Rev. George W. Lay, Rector of St. Mary's School, after which President R. D. W. Connor presented his annual address as President, his subject being "The Historical Foundations of Democracy in North Carolina," a study of racial influences on the character of the Commonwealth, and of the steady growth of democratic ideas and ideals.

At the conclusion of his address, President Connor introduced to the audience Dr. Walter H. Page, editor of *The World's Work*, of New York. For several years it has been the custom of the Literary and Historical Association to invite to its session one eminent son of North Carolina who has attained distinction outside the State. Dr. Page, a native of Wake County, who began his literary career as editor of the *Raleigh Chronicle*, had been invited home for this meeting of the Association and brought a message emphasizing the fact that in order to insure the development of a great literature in North Carolina we must have the fullest possible development of our rural population. Both his address on "The Country Man," and President Connor's address, are published elsewhere in these minutes.

The evening session was brought to a close with the exercises in connection with the presentation of the Patterson Memorial Cup, awarded each year to "that resident of the State who, during the twelve months from September the first of the previous year to September the first of the year of the award, has displayed, either in prose or poetry, without regard to its length, the greatest excellence and highest literary skill and genius." Dr. Walter H. Page made the presentation on behalf of the committee, which consists of "the President of the State Literary and Historical Association, the occupants of the chairs of English Literature at the University of North Carolina, at Davidson College, at Wake Forest, and at the State A. & M. College at Raleigh, of the chairs of History at the University of North Carolina and at Trinity College."

In accepting the cup awarded him in recognition of his "Where Half the World is Waking Up," Mr. Clarence Poe said:

I can not find words to express my appreciation of this award, ennobled as it is by association with the names Dr. Page has just enumerated—McNeill and Mims and Battle and Ashe and Connor and Henderson—and "our gracious matron of letters." I can only assure you that I accept the generous judgment it symbolizes with a full understanding of the fact that, like every other recognition from one's fellows, it should be regarded not so much as an earned reward from the past as a borrowed trust for the future—a trust that I should use not for purposes of self, but in causes that look to human progress and the development of the State whose good people have ever been gracious to me beyond my deserving.

Before adjourning the meeting, President Connor read the following telegram which was turned over to him by Dr. Page:

NEW YORK, December 2, 1912.

WALTER H. PAGE,

Care State Literary and Historical Association, Raleigh, N. C.

The North Carolina Society of New York is pleased that you, one of its former presidents, are to address the State Literary and Historical Association. We ask that you act as the representative of our North Carolina Society of New York at this meeting, and that you extend the assurances of our interest to the officers of the Association. We also hope that you will obtain for us copies of the proceedings and of the addresses.

GEORGE GORDON BATTLE, *President.*

JOHN S. PRIMROSE, *Secretary.*

After adjourning the regular meeting, the members attended a reception given by the Raleigh members of the Association in honor of the out-of-town members.

MORNING SESSION, DECEMBER 4TH.

The morning session of the Literary and Historical Association opened with a reading of the Bibliography for the year by Miss Minnie Leatherman, Secretary of the State Library Commission.

Following the reading of the Bibliography, Dr. William K. Boyd presented a very valuable and suggestive paper on "Some Neglected Phases of North Carolina History." Dr. Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina, the next speaker, discussed in a very able paper, "Democracy and Literature." It is to be regretted that these papers of Dr. Boyd's and Dr. Henderson's were not heard by a much larger audience, but readers who could not be present when the speeches were delivered, should not deprive themselves of the privilege of reading them, as they appear elsewhere in this Bulletin.

The addresses of the morning being completed, the Association took up the consideration of motions and resolutions and committee reports.

Mr. Frank Nash, of Hillsboro, was recognized to make the report for the Committee on Library Extension. This committee consists of Mr. George Rountree, Wilmington, Mr. Frank Nash, Hillsboro, Dr. Louis R. Wilson, Chapel Hill, Mr. J. P. Breedlove, Durham, and Mr. Thomas M. Pittman, Henderson. The members of the Association were greatly interested in the recommendations included in the report, and endorsed it enthusiastically, the only criticism being that the members of the Association generally would have had it even stronger.

The report submitted by Mr. Nash, for the committee, was as follows:

To the State Literary and Historical Association:

Your committee on the formulation of a program looking to the extension of library privileges to the entire citizenship of the State, begs leave to report as follows:

1. The part played by the modern library in the general educational advancement of a people is so highly important that North Carolina can not, without great injury to herself, fail to take advantage of all the benefits which may be secured through a further extension of its library resources.

2. The most practical and beneficial way of extending the desired privileges in other States has been through State-supported Library Commissions and well equipped State Libraries. In the majority of States where the kind of library advantages contemplated are enjoyed the work of arousing interest in the establishment of public libraries; of aiding new libraries in solving local problems; of furnishing libraries, clubs, organizations, and individuals with reference lists and information as to desired materials; of operating collections of traveling and debate libraries, is usually undertaken by library commissions. In some of the States the State Libraries, in addition to supplying the demands of the State officers, maintain well equipped reference collections from which citizens can draw for more specialized material which is not accessible in local libraries, and provide for the use of legislators and municipal officers special collections of laws and opinions relating to questions which are the subject of legislation pending in legislatures and municipalities.

3. The need in North Carolina for the further extension of these privileges is extremely urgent. The population of the State is largely rural, and it is denied the privilege of free books which the citizens of the larger towns enjoy. It is without the advantages which come from the reading of books and from the discussion of problems to which the reading of books give rise. The traveling library, made up of well selected books covering many phases of life and thought, is stimulating to the rural sections, and aids the State Departments of Education, Public Health, and Agriculture in extending their work. Again, North Carolina has few strong, centralized libraries from which organizations and individuals can borrow special books. Its citizens are consequently forced to go outside the State for material which might be furnished by the State Library. Furthermore, North Carolina is facing important legislation in subjects on which its legislators are without comparative material drawn from a number of sources. There is no bureau at the capital from which they can secure the special literature which is essential to the drafting of the wisest laws.

In view of these facts, and in view of the further facts that the North Carolina Library Commission is already doing a splendid work in general library

extension, that it is attempting to further its work by putting into operation a system of traveling libraries, and that the State Library is soon to move into quarters which will make possible, from the physical side, the extension of its usefulness as a reference and legislative reference library, your committee beg to offer for adoption the following resolutions:

1. That the State Literary and Historical Association support the North Carolina Library Commission in its effort to secure an adequate appropriation for the operation of an effective system of traveling libraries and the extension of its present work.

2. That it urge upon the Members of the Legislature the importance of more thoroughly equipping the State Library for use as a general and reference library for the State at large and special reference bureau for the Legislature, and that adequate appropriations be granted for the same.

3. That a legislative committee of three members be appointed by the President to prepare such bills or suggest such amendments to present laws as will carry into effect the recommendations contained in the foregoing resolutions.

(Signed)

GEORGE ROUNTREE, *Chmn.*

FRANK NASH,

LOUIS R. WILSON,

J. P. BREEDLOVE,

THOMAS M. PITTMAN,

Committee.

Dr. Archibald Henderson was then recognized and offered a series of notable resolutions which were adopted after considerable discussion.

In speaking to the resolutions, Dr. Henderson said that if this, the Literary, as well as the Historical, Association of North Carolina is to justify in full measure its duplex title, it must take a constructive part in the crusade for culture in our State today which awaits leadership and a leader.

The resolutions follow:

1. That this Association appoint a committee, consisting of five members, men and women, to consider the problem of our State literature, and to endeavor to secure the person or persons best qualified by reason of talent and aptitude, to prepare a history of the literature of North Carolina.

2. That this Association perfect some organization by which the literary spirit in the State may be stimulated toward effective ends—through the establishment of literary clubs and the organization of those already in existence, with central headquarters in Raleigh; and the formulation, through coöperation with the Women's Clubs of North Carolina, of adequate machinery by which these clubs may have their energies definitely directed in the channel of study of native and Southern literature.

3. That this Association appoint a committee, consisting of five members, men and women, to petition the Building Committee for the reservation of adequate space in the projected new Hall of History, to be used permanently as a section devoted to the Literature of North Carolina. Furthermore, that this committee be permanent, having for its objects to honor in tangible form the literary achievements of our people, and to preserve the literary remains of our native writers of eminence. That this be done through the preservation and display, in the section aforementioned in the new Hall of History,

of portraits of our men and women of letters, autographed sets of their works, original manuscripts, letters from eminent men and women of letters testifying to the value of such literary works, medallions, busts, and all forms of suitable memorials which may keep green the memory of noble works, finely conceived and artfully executed.

4. That this Association give a new stimulus and direction to the movement, formerly inaugurated, for a system of extension lectures throughout the State.

5. That this Association send a delegated representative to the annual meetings of the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly, whose duty it shall be, as representative of this Association, to coöperate with the teachers in fostering the intelligent and consistent study of native and of Southern literature in the schools.

6. That, at future annual meetings of this Association, a portion of the program be regularly devoted to appreciations, by competent authorities, of representative figures in our native literature.

7. That this Association appoint one of the present members of the State Library Commission to serve as its representative on that Commission, in order to bring the two organizations into coöperation and to keep in mind the general purpose of ministering to and stimulating the literary consciousness of our people.

Prof. E. K. Graham then offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved, That the State Literary and Historical Association extend through the Secretary to Mr. Walter H. Page, of New York, its appreciation and thanks for his gift of the beautiful edition of the works of O. Henry and accompanying manuscripts.

Resolved, That the telegram of good will from the North Carolina Society of New York, by the Secretary, be acknowledged with thanks and with expression of appreciation for the patriotic work now being done by that Society in New York.

The Secretary then reminded the members that the Association, in common with ordinary mortals, was suffering somewhat from the "high cost of living." This is due to the fact that in recent years the number of speakers on the program has been greatly increased, four sessions being now held whereas only one was held six years ago, while the policy of obtaining eminent speakers of national reputation for each session is necessarily attended by considerable outlay. On motion the Executive Committee was authorized to consider any plans for increasing the membership fee—in case it should be thought advisable to attempt to get funds by increase in dues rather than by enlarging the membership—with provision that before putting any plan into effect, it must be submitted to the members on a referendum for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not the sentiment in favor of the change is large enough to justify its adoption.

President Connor then announced the following committee on the nomination of officers for the ensuing year: Messrs. E. K. Graham, F. A. Woodard, T. M. Pittman, R. B. Drane, Miss Lida T. Rodman.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The afternoon session began with a "Conference on the Study and Sources of North Carolina History," Dr. W. K. Boyd, of Trinity College, presiding. Mr. Frank Nash, of Hillsboro, read a paper on "County Records as Sources of Local History," which was followed by a discussion of the same subject by Prof. Charles L. Coon, of Wilson. At the conclusion of these addresses (printed elsewhere in this bulletin) the Association adjourned to attend the exercises in connection with the presentation of the bust of Governor John M. Morehead to the State, these exercises being under the auspices of the North Carolina Historical Commission. A full report of these exercises is given as a part of this bulletin.

At five o'clock the Woman's Club of Raleigh tendered a reception to the members of the Association at which Mr. Edwin Markham was the guest of honor.

EVENING SESSION.

The evening session began with a musical number, a trio, "Maytime," by the Misses Day and Miss Haynes, of Meredith College. President Connor then introduced Mr. Josephus Daniels, editor of the *News and Observer*, who delivered an address, which had been expected at a previous session of the Association, on "Nathaniel Macon and His Influence on North Carolina History." A double quartet, composed of Misses Pearson, Durham, Anderson, and Briggs and Messrs. Betts, Coburn, Newcomb, and Thomas, next delighted the audience with a rendering of "There's a River."

President Connor then introduced to the audience Mr. Edwin Markham, the guest of honor at this meeting of the Literary and Historical Association.

Mr. Markham's subject was "America as a New Field for Poetry." Few speakers in Raleigh have ever more completely captivated their audiences than Mr. Markham did on this occasion; and this copy of our Minutes is greatly enriched by the report of his address given elsewhere. Hardly less worth coming to hear than the address itself was Mr. Markham's reading of his famous poem, "The Man with the Hoe." This was done so effectively as to make it one of the memories of a lifetime for all who had the privilege of being present.

The Thirteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association then came to a close with the report of the committee on the nomination of officers for the ensuing year. Rev. R. B. Drane submitted this report, announcing in the outset that the committee had been informed by Mr. Clarence Poe that having served as Secretary

since 1903, he would under no circumstances accept a réélection. Mr. Drane, on behalf of the committee, then recommended the following officers:

President.....DR. W. P. FEW, of Trinity College.
First Vice-President.....MRS. MARGARET BUSBEE SHIPP, Raleigh.
Second Vice-President.....MR. O. W. BLACKNALL, Kittrell.
Third Vice-President.....DR. ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Chapel Hill.
Secretary-Treasurer.....MR. R. D. W. CONNOR, Raleigh.

These officers were then unanimously elected; Dr. Archibald Henderson, however, declined to accept the position tendered him.

The meeting then adjourned.

CLARENCE POE,
Secretary.

The Historical Foundations of Democracy in North Carolina

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT R. D. W. CONNOR BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 3, 1912.

A little more than a year ago your kindness selected me for the honor and duty of presiding over this thirteenth annual session of the North Carolina State Literary and Historical Association. This honor, I am fully conscious, I owe to no merit of my own but to your generous partiality, for which I desire to return my sincerest thanks. That same partiality I shall expect to be my advocate to plead your forbearance for whatever failure I may meet with in performing adequately the duties you have imposed upon me. Among these is the duty of opening this session with an address on some topic in keeping with the purposes of this Association. You will naturally expect me to select some subject from the history of our own State, but at the same time, you have a right to expect it to be some subject from which some lesson may be drawn that will be of practical value in the working out of our own present day problems. Whether I have succeeded in meeting these just expectations is for your generous judgment to say. My subject is "The Historical Foundations of Democracy in North Carolina."

The history of North Carolina during the little more than a decade since the organization of this Association, has been characterized by a remarkable development along two parallel lines, one leading to a widespread material prosperity, the other to a popular intellectual renaissance. One manifests itself in the hum of mills, the shriek of whistles, the roar and rush of trains, revealing the power and energy of an awakening people. The other, no less a revelation of power, is nevertheless a silent movement whose energy is generated in the quiet of the schoolroom and the closet of the student. These two movements have created conditions out of which has sprung a third, political in its nature, just beginning to make itself felt and demanding changes in our system of government profound in their character and far reaching in their effects. None of these movements would have been possible without the others, while all are the results of forces that for two and a half centuries have been shaping our civilization and determining our destiny.

In recognition of this fact we are, as a people, turning more than at any other time in our history to a study of the past to seek therein an explanation of the present and a forecast of the future. One of the most striking features of the intellectual awakening of which I have spoken is the recent rapid development of our historical consciousness.

Out of it have sprung such intellectual activities as the organization of this Literary and Historical Association, the creation of the State Historical Commission, the organization of numerous historical and patriotic societies, the preservation of historic battlefields and buildings, the marking of historic sites, the celebration of historic anniversaries, the publication of historical manuscripts, monographs and books, and the numerous other methods by which mankind has always preserved the history of the race. In the past decade alone we have erected more monuments and written more books in North Carolina, many of them works of real merit, than in all the previous two hundred and fifty years of our history.

The development of the inward spirit of which such activities are but the outward manifestations, means much in the life of any people. "The spirit of a people is the history of a people impersonated in the life of a people. If there is no history of a people, there is no spirit of a people," and without such a spirit the people perish. It seems to me, therefore, that nothing can be more important to a democratic people than the cultivation of such a spirit. Great and rapid material and political development may prove anything but an unmixed blessing if it be not accompanied by a corresponding development of the mental and spiritual resources of the State, and there is no better way for the State to develop these resources and strengthen this side of its life than through the study of its history. Every duty which we are called upon to perform as citizens of a democracy comes to us out of the past moulded into shape by its influence and charged with its spirit. This influence we must understand, this spirit we must appreciate if we would perform the duties and meet the responsibilities of citizenship intelligently and effectively. It follows, therefore, that a knowledge of the history and character of the people among whom we are to live and work is a very necessary part of our equipment for service in a democracy. Properly pursued, the study of history broadens the outlook, sharpens the intelligence, strengthens the character, and confirms the patriotism of the people, and when the day of trial and stress comes, as such days do come to all people, the qualities thus developed become the chief assets of a democratic State.

The American people are even now facing such a test of character. A school of politics has arisen among us founded on the theory that under our system of representative democracy political, social and economic inequalities have sprung up that have closed to the people and their children doors of opportunity that once stood wide open to their fathers; and under the teaching of this school the spirit of discontent has spread abroad in the land. Never before has our political system undergone

so searching an examination as that to which it is now being subjected; never before have demands for radical changes striking at the very roots of constitutional government been so strong and so insistent. These demands wise statesmanship will heed and prepare to meet, but in meeting them in the several States of the Union it will take into consideration the origin, history and character of their people. It will not seek blindly to apply to such ancient commonwealths as Virginia, Massachusetts and North Carolina political experiments and expedients that have nothing to recommend them but the fact that, after brief trials, they appear to be successful in such recent communities as Wisconsin, Oregon, and Oklahoma. For in those States which have not behind them the conservative forces of history or whose populations have sprung largely from races that have not either by inheritance or long experience the instincts of self-government, there is danger that the people, failing to understand and appreciate the long and painful struggle by which orderly liberty has been attained, may become impatient of those salutary restraints upon the popular will which the history of constitutional government has invariably shown to be necessary for the success of democracy; and mistaking expedients for principles, may too hastily discard the lessons of experience for the promises of experiment. On the other hand, in those States which look back to a long and honorable history as their chief claim to the respect of mankind, there is equal danger that an undue reverence for the past may influence their people to tolerate evils which present no claim to consideration except age, rather than adopt remedies against which no ground of opposition can be urged except youth; and thus these old, conservative communities may unfortunately lay themselves open to the just charge of blocking the path of progress without conserving the interests of democracy.

North Carolina, certainly not the least of the States of the Union, could not if she would and, I am sure, would not if she could, refuse to bear her share of the responsibility which present day conditions impose upon her and her sister States. It is of importance, therefore, to us to consider the manner in which she may be expected to meet her obligations. If the origin and character of her people, and the history they have made here, afford any basis for forming a judgment, we shall be safe in asserting that she will be found in neither of the groups that I have described. She will approach her task, as becomes a people conscious of a great past, with a spirit of conservatism that will excite the contempt of the former; and as becomes a people conscious of a great future, she will solve her problems as they are presented with a spirit of progressiveness that will dismay the latter. And in the future, as in the past, unmoved by the contempt of the one or the dismay of the other,

she will do her duty, if not with great brilliancy and acclaim, nevertheless with wisdom and quiet dignity. Such was her attitude when confronted with the Federal Constitution in 1788; and such was her attitude when confronted with Secession in 1861.

Many different factors, of course, have entered into the formation of the character of North Carolina and the determination of her conduct when brought face to face with great crises, and it is to a consideration of these that I shall invite your attention this evening. Foremost among them, because it underlies all others, is the origin of her population. The population of North Carolina has been less affected by outside influences and the infusion of foreign blood than the population of any other American State; and today the dominant characteristics of her people remain the same, modified only by the conditions of American life, as those of the original German, Scotch, and English settlers. A clear understanding, therefore, of the influence of each of these peoples on our civilization is necessary for an understanding of our history.

The influence of the Germans has been chiefly economic. The early German pioneer took but little interest in politics. The only governments which he had known in the Old World were pure despotisms and accordingly he lacked political experience. About the only political principle he was familiar with was obedience to constituted authority, and he concerned himself but little whether that authority was despotic or democratic. He was willing, therefore, to leave politics to his Scotch and English fellow colonists while he devoted his energies to his industrial affairs. Two causes contributed to this result. One was the communistic spirit of the German immigrants which led them to settle in compact communities; the other was the geology of the region in which they settled. The facilities which it offered for manufacturing enterprises did not escape the keen eyes of the early German pioneers. In the section settled by the English, fifty years passed before a mill of any character was erected; in Wachovia, on the other hand, before the close of their first year, the Germans had in operation a flour mill, a carpenter's shop, a shoe shop, a pottery, a blacksmith's shop, a tannery, and a cooperage; and in 1773 a visitor to Wachovia records the fact that the settlers there possessed "a number of useful and lucrative manufactures, particularly a very extensive one of earthenware, which they have brought to great perfection, and supply the whole country with it for some hundred miles around." The first cotton mill erected in North Carolina was built at Lincolnton in 1813 by Michael Schenck, whose name is sufficient evidence of his nationality. This mill was the forerunner of that remarkable industrial development which has raised North Carolina to the second place among the States of the American

Union in the manufacture of cotton. How largely this development is the work of our German population will be readily understood by recalling the names of the pioneers of manufacturing in North Carolina—the Schencks, the Holts, the Frieses, the Hokes, the Reinhardts—as well as the names of the men behind the manufacturing industries of today. An examination of the reports of the State Commissioner of Labor and Printing will reveal the fact that a very large percentage of these enterprises are yet owned or controlled by men of German descent. In 1910, for instance, the sixteen counties that were settled chiefly by German immigrants contained something more than forty per cent of all the cotton, woolen, silk, and knitting mills then in the State.

The influence of industry on government is always exercised in the interest of conservatism. And so in North Carolina, at every period of our history, the influence of our German citizenship has been among the most conservative forces in the life of the State. Thus, in 1776, the German communities in North Carolina held back when the English and Scotch were ready to plunge the country into rebellion and revolution; and in 1861 they opposed slavery and secession. Though they could not prevent revolution in 1776 or secession in 1861, their influence undoubtedly went far toward making both those movements more orderly and less noisy in North Carolina than in some of her sister States; and so today the North Carolina citizen of German descent continues to exercise a singularly potent and salutary influence which will not, indeed, prevent our joining in the progressive movements of the age, but will cause us to move cautiously and thoughtfully until at least we know that our ground is firm and certain.

There are two elements of Scotch population to be found in North Carolina—the Highland Scotch and the Lowland Scotch, or the so-called Scotch-Irish. In estimating the influence on our civilization of these Scotch people the most important fact to be considered is their religion. To it we may trace in a large measure that intensity of convictions, that tenacity of purpose, that vigor of intellect and, above all, that spirit of democracy for which they have been so preëminently distinguished in our history. The system of Presbyterianism which these Scotch immigrants brought with them to the New World sprung up in Scotland without recognition from the law, and was founded on the right of the individual to determine his ecclesiastical system for himself. Accordingly the Church which grew out of it was a democratic institution. It summoned laymen in an overwhelming majority to its early assemblies and legislated for itself, not through bishops and clergy, but through the laymen, that is the people, and this is the very corner stone of democracy. "No Church constitution," says John Richard Greene,

"has proved in practice so democratic as that of Scotland." In a country where Church and State were so closely allied as they were in Scotland in the sixteenth century, it was but a short step from ecclesiastical to political affairs. The same democratic spirit which prevailed in the Church, therefore, might easily be made to prevail in the State. Thus the Scottish Presbytery became a training school for democracy. "A Scottish Presbytery," declared King James I, "as well fitteth with monarchy as God and the devil. No bishop, no king." This democratic spirit, derived primarily from his ecclesiastical system, the Scottish immigrant brought with him to North Carolina. Thrown out as the advanced guard of civilization on the extreme western frontier and left to work out his own salvation in his own way, without any material assistance from government, he developed still further that spirit of aggressive, fighting democracy which has made him such a potent force in our history and has been his most distinctive contribution to our modern civilization.

Preceding both the German and the Scotchman came the Englishman, who, some time about the middle of the seventeenth century, crossed the Virginia boundary line, sought out the rich bottom lands along the shores of Albemarle Sound, and there laid the foundations of the commonwealth. Less conservative than the German and less democratic than the Scotchman, the English settler possessed all the German's respect for authority and all the Scotchman's love of liberty; but he demanded that the authority which claimed his allegiance should conform to the constitutional principles of government which he had inherited from his fathers, and he insisted that his liberty should be in accordance with English conceptions and English standards. To him we owe it that these standards were firmly planted in the soil of North Carolina. During the early years of our history he took up arms and went forth to battle more than once in defense of his ideals of constitutional government, and achieving success at last, he wrote them into the Constitution of 1776, whence they have been handed down to us as his richest legacy to all future generations.

The history of constitutional development in North Carolina since 1776 shows the influence of German conservatism, Scotch democracy and English respect for constitutional principles. It has been the story of a conservative, but continuous growth toward limited, representative democracy. The student can make no graver mistake than to suppose that North Carolina, or any other American State, began its independent existence in 1776 as a pure democracy "America in 1776," says a brilliant writer on current political problems, "was not a democracy. It was not even a democracy on paper. It was at best a shadow-democ-

racy.”¹ To say this neither impeaches the wisdom nor decries the work of the framers of our first State Constitutions. The truth is they did not intend to establish democracies. The men who led and dominated the political thought of North Carolina in 1776 were English land-owners whose political ideals were found in the British Constitution. Whatever may be said of the British Constitution of Lloyd George’s England, democracy certainly was no feature of the constitution of the England of George III. This constitution, in its full vigor, the English settlers had demanded should follow them to the New World; and they had insisted that their charters should guarantee to them “all liberties, franchises and privileges” enjoyed by their fellow subjects in England. In 1775 the American people rebelled against the authority of the Mother Country because, in order to carry out certain progressive measures, she proposed to ride roughshod over these same “liberties, franchises and privileges.” George III and his Ministers felt for such political “sop,” introduced from the British Constitution into the early American charters, and thence into our State and Federal Constitutions, to appease the fears of “a jealous people,” all that contempt which so strongly moves the scorn of many of our modern reformers; and they determined that this “sop” should not stand in the way of the expansion and progress of the British Empire.²

The Americans, on the other hand, looking to the ancient landmarks set up by the fathers in the days of Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, protested against the innovations of the Ministry, though they came disguised in the mantle of progress, and went to war to conserve the constitutional “liberties, franchises and privileges” which had been handed down to them from time immemorial. In that struggle, therefore, England, not America, represented the position that in modern political parlance would be called “progressive”; the Americans were the “reactionaries” of their day. Nevertheless they believed in progress though they did not prate much about it. Their very presence on a new and undeveloped continent shows them to have been of a progressive race. But they believed, as many of their descendants believe today, that progress purchased by the surrender of their constitutional guarantees of liberties, would be purchased at too high a rate. Accordingly when the men of North Carolina came to write their Constitution in 1776, they were much more determined to write into it those same safeguards of political liberty,—representative government, the principle that taxation without representation is tyranny, the right of trial by jury, the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, the prohibition against

¹Weyl: “The New Democracy,” p. 12.

²Weyl in his “The New Democracy” thus characterizes the first ten amendments to the Federal Constitution. “With a sop therefore to a jealous people in the form of the first ten amendments, guaranteeing civil and political rights,” etc., p. 15.

the passage of *ex post facto* laws, the guarantee that no man shall be deprived of his life, liberty or property "but by the law of the land" or "by due process of law," and all these other great constitutional principles that have long characterized the governments of English speaking peoples—they were, I repeat, much more intent upon writing these great principles into their Constitution than they were upon establishing a democracy. Today their wisdom stands justified at the bar of history, and if there is any people on the face of the earth who ought not to impeach it it is that people whose very existence as a free, self-governing people was preserved by an appeal to these same political "sops" during the decade from 1866 to 1876. The framers of our Constitution realized, what many of their descendants seem too eager to forget, that without the preservation of these constitutional principles in their full vigor there can be neither liberty nor democracy in the State whether sovereignty resides in one man or whether it resides in a million men.

The government established by the Constitution of 1776 was a representative democracy in form, but in form only. In fixing the basis of representation in the law-making department it paid no attention to population. Every county was given the same number of representatives in both houses of the General Assembly, and certain towns in the House of Commons, without regard to population; and in this respect at least our first State Constitution was less democratic than the Federal Constitution that followed it eleven years later. The same thing may be said of the qualifications for suffrage and for office holding. To English statesmen of 1776—and such were the framers of our first State Constitution—manhood suffrage was a Utopian dream, interesting, perhaps, as a topic for philosophic speculation, but impossible in practical politics; and, although they conferred the right to vote for members of the House of Commons upon all freemen who had paid their taxes, they offset this concession to democracy by restricting the right to vote for State Senators to those who possessed a freehold of fifty acres. Even less democratic than this were the qualifications for office holding. No person could be a member of the House of Commons unless he possessed in the county which he represented "not less than one hundred acres of land in fee, or for the term of his own life"; no person could be a Senator unless he possessed in the county which he represented "not less than three hundred acres of land in fee"; and no person was eligible for the office of Governor unless he was possessed of "freehold in lands and tenements, above the value of one thousand pounds"—an amount comparable to a fortune in our own day of at least ten times that sum. Other undemocratic features forbade any clergyman, while in the exercise of his pastoral

functions, to sit in the General Assembly and imposed a sectarian test for office holding designed to exclude Roman Catholics, Jews and Atheists. The people had no voice in the selection of their public servants. The Governor and other executive officers, the Councilors of State, and the judges were all elected by the General Assembly; and the judges held office for life. No provision was made for calling a constitutional convention or for amending the Constitution in any other way, and the Constitution itself was never submitted to the people for ratification.

Undemocratic as this Constitution was in form, it was even less so in spirit. Inasmuch as all State officials were elected by the General Assembly, and membership in the General Assembly was based on a property qualification, property not men, controlled the government. The theory of property was then, as it has always been, that the best government is that which governs least. It teaches that government has fulfilled its mission when it has preserved order, punished crime, and kept down the rate of taxation. Under the Constitution of 1776 this theory of government prevailed in North Carolina for more than half a century, a period during which the State undertook no great work for the material, intellectual or social betterment of its people; and it makes the dreariest, most uninspiring chapter in the entire history of North Carolina.

A single movement, however, beginning in the early years of this period and bringing it to a close in triumph, saves it from utter barrenness. This movement was the rise and development of democracy in North Carolina, and its origin may be traced to the influence of the Scotch-Irish in the central and western parts of the State. Measured by the twentieth century standards of democracy, the political ideals of the Scotch-Irish in 1776 were undemocratic enough; nevertheless had those ideals been expressed in our first Constitution that document would have been much more democratic than it really was. Typical of the Scotch-Irish communities was the county of Mecklenburg, which instructed its delegates to the Convention of 1776 to organize a government that should "be a simple democracy or as near it as possible." To the Scotch-Irish influence in that convention we are indebted for the division of political power in the State into three distinct departments independent of each other, legislative, executive, and judicial; for the separation of Church and State; for the clause requiring the maintenance of a university and the establishment of public schools; and for others of the more democratic features of the Constitution. It was in these Scotch-Irish communities, too, that the demand for a more democratic basis of representation in the General Assembly originated. Several years passed after the adoption of the Constitution before the

people came to understand clearly the undemocratic principles on which representation was based, or to appreciate fully its practical working. After the Revolution the center of population moved steadily westward, and this fact made necessary the erection of new counties in the West, each entitled to two Commoners and one Senator. The East, which had dominated the political life of the State on account of its larger number of counties, soon perceived the danger in which it stood of losing its political supremacy. Accordingly, to assure the continuance of its power, it followed the policy of offsetting new counties in the West by the creation of new counties in the East without regard to their population. In 1830, for instance, thirty-six of the sixty-four counties in the State were east of Raleigh. These thirty-six counties contained only forty-one per cent of the voting population of the State; yet they sent to the General Assembly fifty-eight per cent of its members. The voting population of these eastern counties was only 8.7 per cent of the total white population of the State; nevertheless this 8.7 per cent elected a majority of the Legislature by whom the Governor and all other State officials were chosen and thus controlled the government in all its branches. "The State government," says a careful student of our constitutional history, "was developing into an aristocracy based upon county representation without regard to the right of the majority to make the laws under which they lived."

This aristocracy not only affronted the democracy of the Scotch-Irish communities, it also obstructed the industrial development of the German communities in the West. The economic interests of these communities were antagonistic to the *laissez-faire* policy of the East. These interests demanded a program of State activities embracing internal improvements, improved public highways, railroads, geological surveys, the conservation of resources, public schools, and other progressive measures now universally acknowledged to be governmental in their nature. The East, resting its industrial and social system on extensive plantations and slave labor, opposed these democratic innovations, and through its control of the State government successfully opposed them for many years. The Scotch and German communities in the West, finding both their political interests and their material welfare involved in the triumph of democratic principles, demanded amendments to the Constitution so as to change the basis of representation from land to people, to give to the people directly the election of their Governor, and in other respects to make the government democratic in practice and in spirit as well as in form.

A long and bitter struggle, lasting the better part of a quarter-century, followed before democracy won its first victory. During this period a

great democratic movement, worldwide in its significance, swept over the English-speaking countries of the earth. In England it found expression in the Catholic Emancipation Act, the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire, and the Reform Bill of 1832; in America it revealed itself in the creation of new States with constitutions recognizing manhood suffrage, in the extension of the suffrage in practically all the old States, in the election of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency, and in the growth of a strong anti-slavery sentiment in the nation. It was a movement toward democracy comparable only to that of our own time, and as North Carolina can not now, so she could not then withstand its onward sweep. In 1834 the reformers won their first victory by securing the passage of an act submitting to the people the question of calling a constitutional convention. No greater triumph for democracy was ever won in North Carolina. For the first time in their history the people were to be consulted on a great problem of government; for the first time the decision of a great political issue was referred directly to the people.

This first referendum resulted in a victory for democracy. The people called a convention, charged with the duty of purging the Constitution of its undemocratic features, and to it sent their ablest men. These men, as a rule, were in sympathy with the democratic movements of their day. They abolished borough representation. They overthrew the territorial basis of representation in the House of Commons, and adopted one resting on population. They struck out of the Constitution the sectarian test for office holding. They took the election of the Governor away from the General Assembly and gave it to the people. They made provision for amending the Constitution by submitting proposed amendments to a referendum. Finally, unlike their predecessors of 1776, they recognized the rising power of democracy by submitting their work for ratification to the people.

The influence of these changes on the industrial, intellectual and political life of the State can not easily be overestimated. They ushered in an era of progress that within the next quarter-century raised North Carolina from the lowest to the highest rank among the slave-holding States in those things that make for the material and intellectual uplift of the people. To this era belong the erection of the present State Capitol, the building of the North Carolina Railroad, the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, the beginning of the Western North Carolina Railroad, the organization of the North Carolina Agricultural Society, the erection of the first hospital for the insane, the founding of the State School for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind, the establishment of a system of public schools and the

expansion of the University from a local high school with ninety students to a real college whose five hundred students represented every State from the Potomac to the Gulf of Mexico. Two political institutions, brought into existence by the work of this convention, though unrecognized by the Constitution, have been potent factors in the evolution of democracy in North Carolina. One of these is the party State Convention, the other, the preëlection canvass of the State by party nominees for State offices. So long as the Governor was chosen by the Legislature, the people not only had no voice in his election, but had even less voice in selecting the party candidates. This was done by a small coterie of party leaders—in modern political parlance, the ring—whose followers in the Legislature merely ratified their choice. We may concede, and history will bear us out in doing so, that this ring-rule placed in public life many able, honorable men who would never have entered into a political scramble for office. Nevertheless it was not democracy. The change from this method of selecting party nominees to selection by a convention, in spite of all the party convention's defects, was a long step toward democratic rule. Under the former method, inasmuch as the people had no voice in deciding political issues, there was no reason for discussing them from the stump. When the election of the Governor was given to the people, however, it brought with it of necessity the preëlection campaign. Foreseeing this result, many conservative statesmen opposed the amendment changing the mode of electing Governors. One of the delegates in the convention declared that he had lately seen a gentleman from Tennessee, where the Governor was elected by the people, who told him that "candidates were traveling through the State on an electioneering campaign at expense and trouble to themselves and great annoyance to the people." Although all of us will probably admit that at times this custom has proved annoying, nevertheless none will dispute, I suppose, that it has brought the people into closer touch with their government, imposed upon them a greater responsibility in the determination of governmental policies, and greatly advanced the cause of democracy.

To such public discussion may undoubtedly be attributed the success of the next step toward democratic government in North Carolina. Though the Convention of 1835 did much fine work for democracy it did not purge the Constitution entirely of its undemocratic features. It abolished the sectarian test for office holding, but substituted for it a religious test broader, indeed, in its scope, but sufficiently undemocratic in its limitations. It abolished the equal representation of counties in the Senate but it adopted a scheme of representation by districts, based not on population but on the value of property assessed for taxation; and

it did not disturb the property qualification for the right to vote for State Senators. The Senate, therefore, was left as the representative of property, not people. It was against this provision of the Constitution that democracy made its next fight. The movement to abolish the property qualification for electors for Senators, like the movement for the reforms of 1835, originated in the Scotch-Irish counties of the State. It became the leading issue in four political campaigns, thrice suffering defeat before its advocates succeeded in forcing a referendum, thus assuring its triumph. With the adoption of this reform both branches of the law-making power, as well as the chief of the executive department, were brought under the direct control of the people.

The triumphs of democratic principles which we have been considering until now were the results of growth from within; those which we are next to consider were the results of force from without. The changes made in the Constitution by the conventions of 1865 and 1868, as the result of the Civil War, which were in line with the development of democracy as I have traced it, have become permanent features of our government. The most important of these were the abolition of slavery, the removal of all religious tests for office holding, the placing of the election of all State and county officers, judicial as well as executive, in the hands of the people, the overthrow of the life tenure of judges, and the striking out of all property qualifications for voting and holding office. Had those conventions stopped there, history would undoubtedly have pronounced their work good. But unfortunately they were controlled by men either ignorant or defiant of the history, traditions and character of the people for whom they were framing a government; and in the name of democracy they incorporated in the Constitution other features that were revolutionary rather than evolutionary. The endowment of the negro with the suffrage, though apparently an application of a democratic principle, was really antagonistic to the growth of genuine democracy. It invited disaster to democratic institutions by conferring power upon the unfittest in the State without providing means for their training in self-government. Self-government, if it means anything, means self-restraint,—self-restraint in the exercise of political power not merely by individuals but by large masses of people acting as a unit, and self-restraint is the very essence of democracy. The attempt in 1868 to force the forms of democracy upon a people who knew nothing of its essence proved disastrous to democratic institutions and arrested the progress of democracy for at least a generation. The people of North Carolina were forced to await the course of events before the time was ripe for the correction of the evil and then by the last change which they have made in the Constitution they conserved the in-

terest of democracy by restricting the suffrage to those qualified to exercise it properly, while at the same time they left the way open for all men to prepare themselves for this highest privilege to be enjoyed in a democracy.

It is evident, I think, from the foregoing discussion, that the Constitutional development of North Carolina has been a conservative but steady growth toward the realization of the purpose of the men of Mecklenburg in 1776—"to have a simple democracy as far as possible." Every restriction placed upon suffrage and eligibility to office by the Constitution of 1776 has been removed, the election of the officials in all three of the great departments of government has been placed in the hands of the people; the referendum has been introduced and approved by the courts, while the initiative and other methods of ascertaining and enforcing the will of the people are being held in reserve for use if conditions shall arise demanding them. The influences that I have traced in the development of these democratic principles are as potent today as at any time in our history, and must be reckoned with by those of us who desire a continuation of this development. The democracy that we now enjoy is a perfectly natural evolution out of the history, character and life conditions of the people of North Carolina. If this natural process of evolution is permitted to go on without interruption from outside forces, democracy will continue to go forward approaching ever nearer and nearer to the democratic ideal; but if any effort is made to force the people of this State to wear the ready made garments of the democracy of other communities without regard to their fit, it will as inevitably arrest the progress of democracy among us in the twentieth century as it did in the nineteenth. Democracy is a sentiment, a spirit, and not a form of government. "The mere machinery of democracy," as an eminent English writer has recently said, "is nothing. It is of value only as it avails to express the spirit of a people; and if that spirit is set on vain things, on amassing wealth which it has not the taste or judgment to spend, on the acquisition of territory which it does not need, or on the unreal show of military glory, then neither the ballot box nor the party machine will help it. But if it cares for things of more humdrum sound, but of more vital meaning, to combat disease at its source, to make of the city a thing of beauty and comfort for the people instead of a home of dirt and din, to secure for every willing worker a fair share of the fruits of his work, and to provide out of the surplus for those who have fallen by the way, then it has a will that is worth expressing, and the forms of political democracy give it the means of realization." Let us not forget, however, that it is not more fatal to real democracy to force the spirit of a people to remain encased in forms of government

which it has outgrown, than it is to force upon it forms of government for which it is not ready. To do either is to force democracy to run its race in hobble skirts.

Another important characteristic of the evolution of democratic institutions in North Carolina is that democracy at every stage of its growth, save one, has recognized the existence of certain great principles of right, justice and liberty, fundamental, eternal and unchanging, which even it can not overthrow with impunity, but for its own salvation must maintain unimpaired at all hazards. These fundamental principles are the "fetiches" which excite so much contempt among modern reformers. As for myself, if to hold in deepest reverence these great political principles upon which not only liberty, but democracy itself is dependent, is to worship a "fetich," then I plead guilty of the sacrilege, if sacrilege it be. If I am to be deprived of my life, liberty, or property otherwise than "by the law of the land,"—or by "due process of law"—it is no comfort to me to know that the outrage was perpetrated by the tyranny of a million despots instead of a single despot. No one will dispute the proposition that in every self-governing community, the well considered will of the majority of those upon whom political power is conferred must ultimately prevail; nevertheless it has always been a cardinal principle with English-speaking peoples that before any majority is fit for the task of self-government it must accept certain fundamental principles as restraints imposed upon its own will for the protection of the minority against wrong and injustice. To destroy these principles, no matter in what manner, or in whose name the destruction may be wrought, is to destroy at a single blow the foundation of both liberty and democracy.

Thus I have attempted to point out the historical foundations of our present day democracy in North Carolina. It remains for us to consider very briefly the democracy of the future. First of all, What is democracy? Lincoln defines democracy as a scheme of government that is builded on three political principles as its corner stones. Democracy is first of all government of the people. It is secondly government by the people. It is lastly government for the people. Government of the people we have always had in North Carolina. We have now, as I have attempted to show, government by the people. However, if changes in our present methods of ascertaining the will of the people be found necessary for more effectively accomplishing that purpose no good reason can be urged against them unless it can be shown that they will undermine and weaken the great fundamental principles upon which our democracy is founded; but wise statesmanship will not confound these nonessentials, these mere forms of democracy, with the thing itself. Democracy is primarily government for the people; and to achieve this

is the great work of the immediate future in North Carolina. The great tasks of our generation are to make our State government less an agent for repressive measures and a more effective agent for progressive measures; a government resting on a revenue system, yielding an ample income for all its legitimate purposes, in which the burdens of taxation are so adjusted that every man shall contribute his proportionate share, and neither more nor less than his proportionate share toward its support; a government that shall shift its chief emphasis from courts and constables and prisons to farms and workshops and homes; a government in whose councils politics shall yield first place to the protection of childhood, the education of youth, and the conservation of the manhood and the womanhood of the State; a government that will recognize no higher duty than the enforcement of the laws of sanitation and the protection of the lives of its people from the insidious attacks of disease; a government that is concerned less in the size and wealth of its towns and cities than it is in directing their growth while they are yet small into centers of health and beauty and social comfort and industrial prosperity; a government that will lend its every effort to the reclamation of its wasted soils, the restoration of its forests, the construction of modern highways, and to the building of "a more complete and enduring rural civilization, where strong and vigorous manhood is reared and where the rarest and purest forms of womanhood are in bloom"; a government in which not only is no man so high that the law will not be enforced against him, but also, in the eloquent language of Governor Aycock, that higher and finer thing, a government in which "no man is so low that it shall not reach down to him to lift him up if may be and set him on his feet again and bid him Godspeed to better things."

The Country Man

ADDRESS OF WALTER H. PAGE, EDITOR OF THE WORLD'S WORK, BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 3, 1912.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Speaking of literature I should like to call your attention to a striking fact. The historians of literature entertain us with explanations how it happened. You will read of the spacious times of great Elizabeth, how it was an era of unprecented adventure. Every man dreamed dreams of great fortunes and of good fighting and of fountains of youth beyond the seas. It was a time of intellectual ferment. And it was these unusual conditions that produced Shakespeare. Anybody can see how a Shakespeare was bound to come out of a life like this.

So, too, about the great outburst of Roman literature in the time of Augustus. Rome was acknowledged the mistress of the world. Such a state of political society was bound to produce great poets. Anybody can see that.

A similar argument is made about the Periclean Era of Athens. You couldn't have prevented a great literature then if you had tried.

The great Russian novelists of the last century are explained on a wholly different basis. Men's activities were so suppressed in Russia that they had to dream. There was nothing else to do. That, therefore, was an ideal soil for great fiction.

Nothing has happened in literature but it admits of an easy and obvious explanation—after the event. But I have not found any historian who foretold a time of rich production. Their explanations all work backward and never forward. It would be a great satisfaction to know just when or under what conditions a great outburst of literature will come in North Carolina; for then we might prepare for its coming and make sure that we should recognize it when it comes. I think that no people has ever recognized its greatest literature when it first appeared.

Now I am going to have the audacity to make such a prediction. A prophet is reasonably safe so long as he omits dates. I shall not give a date, and I am sure that as a literary prophet I can not cut a more amusing figure than most of our old friends, the historians of literature.

How, then, may we go about stimulating literary production in North Carolina? No doubt there are many ways; but I am going to venture a guess at two ways. One is by care of our land, and the other is by the care of our people. For I suspect that, after we have made all possible explanations of literature, the coming of a man with the right

kind of eyes in his head and the right kind of words on his tongue has something to do with it.

As for the care of the land—We have long wearied ourselves and the rest of the world by boasting of our particular slope of earth from our mountains to our sea. But it is one thing to boast about it and quite another thing to appreciate it and properly to care for it. You have, of course, observed that men who were born here, and have gone away and wandered over many lands and lived long elsewhere and come back again—you have, of course, observed how the beauty of the land smites them afresh. I should like to add my own experience to this general experience; for every time that I have come back here from any part of the United States or from any foreign land, the tonic of our air and the blue of our sky and the slope of our hills and the quiet richness of our lowlands, even to the ocean, thrust themselves afresh upon me. It is a good land to live in and, when one must die, a good land to die in. As men grow older (you will agree with me), we become more sensitive to a landscape, to a climate, to a sunset, to the azure heavens, to the smell of the earth, and to the bloom and perfume of our forests and fields. Really to feel and to know that Nature gave us every riot of her bounty—this is one thing—really to appreciate this priceless and incomparable gift of God.

But it is quite another thing properly to care for it and to make plans for saving and wisely using it, not only during our lifetime, but for all time to come, for men and women will be here millions of years after we are forgotten. Literature? Here is a hint. Describe our beneficent land as it is now. If you do that well enough, you will have readers after every man now living is forgotten.

To care for our land properly involves a wise and far seeing policy, national, State, county, and individual. We have begun the purchase of a great national forest reserve in our mountains—wisely. We have begun to make our mountains accessible. We have begun to appreciate the value of streams and trees. Our future history depends on the wisdom with which we work out such plans. There is not a foot of our land that is not precious and that may not be made healthful and beautiful. There is a part of this State known as Moore County. Forty years ago it was considered good to hold the rest of the earth together.

Well, Moore County has built roads, starting nowhere and going nowhere—the best automobile roads that I have found in any country; and men are coming from far and near to make the land bloom along those roads. And Moore County has authorized the building of a parkway—a continuous hardy garden, if you please—along these thoroughfares. Now nobody knew either the natural beauty of the country or

the possibilities of gardens till it was made possible to drive over the county in automobiles. Planting a public garden along roads that run through a wilderness of pine stumps and blackjacks—that, ladies and gentlemen, gives a hint of what I mean by caring for our land and preserving it. And what will you plant in such gardens of endless sand? They go to the swamp and find flowering shrubs enough to make gardens that may become famous the world over.

May I commend a survey of North Carolina that shall show the chances of doing such things on every mile of our soil? Such a survey as an engineer or a landscape architect would make for a park? We have a park—that is all that the whole State is.

We have come to a place in our development where we need to make sure that our whole land shall be wisely cared for. That is one way towards a great literature.

Do you know how much good literature has been written about Devonshire, in England? Go there and you will see why. And you will discover that hedges and lawns and roads and lanes have had one thousand years to increase in beauty since Englishmen first began to use that land well.

Now the next way to the production of literature, in my audacious prediction, is to care for our people; and our people are country people. We have no cities yet and are not likely to have the great evils of great cities for many a year to come. In this, also, God is very good to us.

Our fundamental task here is to make the countryman, the man in the fields, prosperous, care free, and happy. I can see how that would so change our life and the spirit of our life that some effervescence of joy would be bound to find fit expression. If this seem a long and indirect journey, I pray your patience while I explain certain things that you already know; and let us see where we may land after a little adventure, which at first may weary you, as most promising adventures do.

I now come to my mutton by a different path in the pasture, if you will follow me.

The two great economic facts of the last century that affected life in the United States were these:

First, the unprecedented rush of men to the farm which was caused by the homestead acts. The government gave away a domain of vast extent on conditions easy without parallel in human history; and millions of men from every part of the older States and from the Old World settled our great agricultural area. There never was before such a rush of men to the land. They grew a great deal more surplus wheat and corn than we needed. Decade after decade our chief export was food

products. In a word, they overdid the business of farming. There were far too many farmers in proportion to our population. There was, therefore, in the next generation and the next a reverse movement—a movement of the young fellows from the farms to the towns. Farming was too poorly paid a business for them. At the same time it so happened at first that the towns had a use for these young fellows; it was the first great era of our city building. Railroads had brought great business chances in the towns; and soon we run against the second great economic fact of the century.

This second economic fact was the development of all the great new machinery of modern life—railroads, telegraphs, telephones, banks, chains of banks, great corporations, trusts—all the vast machinery of doing business quickly and in great volume which has made our methods so different from the methods of our grandfathers.

Recall a fact like this: My father as a boy went with my grandfather's caravan of wagons, loaded with cotton, all the way from Wake County to Petersburg, Va., to sell it—over miserable roads, camping by the roadside at night and taking a week to make the journey either way; and in those days hogsheads of tobacco were rolled from Granville County to market at Petersburg. Now think of all the organization of business that came between that primitive time and our own day. That is what I mean by the modern reorganization of the world.

Well, all the business organization of the world was done in the towns for obvious reasons. A town is an organization; it is that fact which distinguishes it from the country. In the country every farm stands alone. It has very few relations to any other. In the city, trade, finance, social life—everything is organized, from the Board of Trade to the Daughters of Rebekah.

The town is organized life: the country is unorganized life. That's the difference that counts.

Add to that fact this other fact—that most of the towns of the United States were becoming organized first when farming was greatly overdone and consequently underpaid.

It was in this condition of things that men of my own age were born. The most enterprising men were going to the town. The least enterprising were staying in the country. This was the period when the average farmer was a mere clodhopper, a hayseed, a man who managed his little resources so badly that he was in debt to somebody in the town. Somebody in the town taxed him and owned him; and of course that made his lot worse and worse. What he ought to have had as his own profit went as profit to some master in some town.

But pretty soon two other great things came to pass.

Science was applied to agriculture and agricultural machinery was developed. These gave farming a new meaning and a new life.

At the same time our population grew so fast that it began to catch up with our agricultural production. Farm products now form a very small part of our exports. We are on the edge of the importation of food. We use all that we can grow. The farmer gets prices that yield him a profit and he has become a greatly more efficient farmer. The rise in the value of farm lands tells the story. It doubled during the last decade and it keeps rising in price. We are in sight of the day of the dominant farmer. And we are on the edge of the most interesting of all economic conditions in our history—we are coming within sight of the conditions when the equilibrium between town and country will be set up; when each will serve the other and neither will have an undue advantage of the other; when, in a word, American life will cease to be lopsided. And to help bring about this equilibrium is not only the most important thing that men now living have to do but it is the most interesting thing. And I know of no part of the United States where it can be better done than in this commonwealth.

The first aim is to make farm life more prosperous. A man who has no margin of profit can not do much for himself, nor can you do much for him—till he has bettered his condition. To make the farmer more prosperous is the first task.

Now the best method of doing that that was ever hit on in the whole history of the world was the simple and fundamental method of field demonstration worked out by Dr. Knapp. That simple, great old man deserves better of his country than any other man of his time, for he conferred on it a greater benefit than any other man. His method of instruction is now applied in Maine and in North Dakota. There is, in fact, no other method of making better farmers of all the men who now till the earth.

It is more than teaching: it goes a step further: it is organization. Remember that the one big problem of our time is the proper organization of country life. Corn clubs and canning clubs—these are the first steps in the organization of both men and women. And these lead us to the very door of several kinds of economic organization that other countries have already applied and worked out.

One such kind of organization is coöperative buying and selling. This helped Denmark to leap from the place of one of the poorest nations of Europe to the place of the most evenly distributed prosperity, as Mr. Poe has told us. As we go now, the farmer throws away a great profit by his lack of organized selling. You can work it out for yourself. I venture to say that the farmers of North Carolina throw away enough

every year to pay a big dividend on the market price of the tilled land in the State by not buying and selling in compact organizations. This sum is wasted—millions of money—in wrongly directed transportation and in unscientific marketing and buying costs.

Next comes organization for borrowing money for productive farm uses. Now what can be done for men or by men who are below the credit line? Especially what can such a man who lives in the country do to give him the benefit of as efficient organization as the town man has? The most fundamental advantage that the town man has over the country man is his access to money to do his business with.

And now we come to the starting point of the whole matter. The town has taken the surplus capital of the country for its own enterprises and activities and the country man can not get the capital that he needs to do his work with efficiency. And the still deeper trouble is, he hasn't as a rule yet learned to use it wisely if he had it. Now it is this fundamental problem that I especially invite your attention to. And I am willing to declare that if every acre of good land in North Carolina were skillfully tilled by the man that owns it, if the man that owns it were a good business man (that is, if he knew how to use money productively) and if he could get all the money that he could use productively so that he could cultivate his land to the very highest degree and make all the economics that the possession of capital permits—if you can imagine every productive acre in the hands of such a capable man with capital enough for his uses—men and brethren, what would that mean? Calculate it if you can, but you can't calculate it. There would be such plenty and such wealth and such ability and such leisure and such a state of society as no dreamer has ever dreamed of. For there is potential wealth enough between our mountains and our ocean—wealth in the soil—to put every civilization in history to shame.

More than that: the men who are now here are capable of developing it, or of beginning its right development so that more and more good men would come till we had the richest commonwealth in the world—especially since Dr. Ferrell's good work is removing one of the oldest enemies of mankind.

The job is to build up the man and he will build up the soil.

The first thing is to enable him to get money enough for his task. You can't give him money if you had it, for he would not use it wisely. How, then, can you enable him at once to get money and to use it wisely?

I will tell you a little story that Dr. Knapp told me which throws light on the subject. One Sunday he found himself in a village in one of the cotton States and he went to church with the friend at whose house he stayed. The preacher made an elaborate explanation of the

debts and needs of the church. The roof leaked; some of the benches needed mending. They must raise \$100 in some way. The Mothers' Sewing and Cradle Society had generously arranged to hold a fair and to give an oyster supper (canned oysters, of course); and the parson hoped the community would generously patronize this work of the good sisters. That was the conventional way to do the thing—to wring \$100 from the people who didn't have it to give and didn't wish to give it if they had.

It filled this wise and good old man with pity. After church he walked about the village with his friend. It was in the early spring. He saw a field not very far from the church that had not been planted the year before. "Whose field is that?" "Mr. Johnson's." "To what church does he belong?" "To the church that we attended." "Is he a good citizen, a generous, right-spirited man?" "Yes, pretty good. He didn't plant that field because he expected to sell it."

Well, the upshot of it was, Dr. Knapp went to see Mr. Johnson. Mr. Johnson said of course he would give one year's use of the field to the church, if that would do any good. The men of the church—rather, I should say, the husbands of the women of the church—agreed to work the field. So did the young people of the Sunday School. Dr. Knapp sent them enough selected cotton seed to plant it and one of his demonstrators to show them how to do it. Everybody volunteered a day's work. It was a frolic—a sort of picnic to work the church field. The fair and oyster supper yielded less than \$20 net and everybody begrudged the money. The field of cotton brought more than \$200 and everybody felt glad that he had worked a day or a half-day in it.

One method created something. The other merely robbed people of what they had. Nobody wanted canned oysters. Everybody wished to learn how to grow as good cotton as that village lot produced. That church was the country man.

Now, to come back, how can you give him the money he needs and teach him to use it?

The thing is so simple that you will not believe it. Let me tell you how it has been done in Germany, where it was begun sixty years ago.

There was a man in Germany sixty years ago named Raiffeisen, a burgomaster, who got it into his head that the debt-ridden and usurer-owned small German farmer could be helped out of his helpless condition by united action. He was a dreamer and a prophet, this Raiffeisen; and against the greatest odds and continuous discouragement he preached his doctrine, was laughed at and regarded as impracticable. At last he organized a society of poor farmers who would band themselves together to borrow small sums of money under the peculiar conditions that he

laid down and he found somebody who would lend them money—in all less than \$150 on these peculiar conditions. Then and there started the great economic movement that has made the German people. That is not too much to say. We speak of the German universities as the great makers of Germany, and of their technical schools. The German farmer makes them.

The Raiffeisen credit societies have of course been described many times. An incomplete and somewhat technical description of them will be found in a speech by Senator Fletcher, of Florida, reprinted from the Congressional Record of August 14, 1912.

They are organizations of farmers to borrow money on these terms:

Every member of a local society binds himself for all the debts of all the other members to the society. There is an unlimited liability. Every society is strictly local so that every member will and must know every other member and can have a friendly and neighborly knowledge of his methods of doing business; and it is directly to the interest of every member to help every other member to make his loan profitable.

Every borrower must use the borrowed money for some directly productive purpose approved by the committee of management; and he may use it for nothing else.

Here you will observe you have an organization that in some important respects is directly the antithesis of the joint stock company with which we are familiar and which colors all our thought.

A joint stock company (an incorporated company or corporation, as we call it) is an organization of capital to hire men. A Raiffeisen credit society is an organization of men to hire money.

A corporation is a company to make as much money as possible. A Raiffeisen credit society is an organization to make as little money as money can be borrowed for on the safest possible terms.

A corporation is a company in which shareholders are usually liable only for the amount of their stock. In a Raiffeisen society a member is liable for all the debts to the society of all the members.

A corporation is a machine to make money. A Raiffeisen credit society is a machine to make men—by training them to use money; to bring men who are below the credit line above it; to give the small farmer a chance to command capital and at least as good terms as the city merchant and manufacturer.

Of course there are many other forms of organization whereby farmers borrow money. There are societies whose members mortgage their land and the society issues debentures against these mortgages, which thus make mortgage values liquid—set them in general circulation. But there is no other form of organization to procure credit which so helps

to build up the borrower and to make him a good business man as the Raiffeisen method.

And what our country man wants is not only money. He wants help. He doesn't know how to manage money. But if his neighbors put themselves in the same boat with him and they all work together, the experience of more than half a century has shown that they all learn how to manage money—become economic men and get themselves above the credit line. These societies grew in Germany from 1,700 in 1890 to 15,000 in 1910. The average number of members of each society is 92. In 1909 they lent to their members more than two hundred millions of dollars and they had outstanding loans of more than four hundred million dollars.

The losses are less than in the usual forms of bank loans—a good deal less. In a word, poor country men when thus banded together for mutual help become the safest borrowers in the world—better than governments, or railroads, or cities, or States.

The credit societies spread from one country to another till they have covered the greater part of Europe except England and Russia. The Italian farmer has been made over, as the German and Belgian farmer has been saved by them. The transactions of these societies in Italy have become one of the great banking enterprises of the kingdom. They have been organized even in India. In Ireland they play an important part in the regeneration of the people and in the building up of the land.

Sir Horace Plunkett, the great leader of Irish regeneration, explained them to me by describing neighborhoods that had been transformed by such a society. The men were quarrelsome—more quarrelsome were their wives. No family had much to do with any neighboring family—except to criticise it. And they were all hopelessly poor.

After they were organized into a credit society, Pat borrowed \$50 to buy an additional cow and Mike \$50 to buy additional land and so on. Pat and Mike had despised one another and had expressed the polite opinion that neither was worth hell-room, which Sir Horace, himself an Irishman, remarked was true.

Very well: in a little while Mike concluded he'd go to see Pat and see how he was getting on with his new cow. For they were equally bound to pay for her. Bridget was doing very well with the cow. Bridget wasn't such an infernally quarrelsome woman after all. Pat soon returned the call to see what Mike was doing with his new land. Mike was working it pretty well. There might be something good in that fellow after all. And so all around those quarrelsome neighborhood families came to know one another by helping one another and by being

bound in a common bond. The whole community changed. They organized themselves for other purposes. They saved themselves and they can now command capital for any productive uses they have.

There are historic changes similar to this that have taken place in German neighborhoods.

But I do not wish to leave the impression that these credit societies are only for men who have fallen low in the economic and social scale. They are for all men on farms. They are simply machinery to get money in small sums on long loans at low interest—money to put into productive uses on the land, good alike for rich and poor.

And they have this supreme advantage over any mere mortgage plan of borrowing—they band men together so that they are obliged to help one another.

Consider this difference. A man mortgages his land and gets money. He doesn't even like to let his neighbors know that he has done such a thing. He carries his burden alone.

Another man pledges himself to help his neighbors borrow and his neighbor returns the compliment. They are both in the same boat. Not only does each know the other's condition: each is bound to help the other. There's a world of difference.

The fundamental problem of all is the building up of the country man. The main task in building up the country man is to enable him to get money to develop his land and to train him to the safe and wise use of money. See where this would lead. There is hardly an acre of land in North Carolina that would not well repay the wise investment of more money on it. Most of the acres in cultivation are bound to have money spent on them before they can yield good profits. And only a small part of the land in North Carolina is yet under any kind of cultivation at all.

Try to calculate the sum of money that could be wisely spent on all the arable land in North Carolina if it were all worked by men who knew their business and could manage money wisely—what a vast sum this investment calls for! Well, it's obliged to come; the sooner it comes the sooner shall we come into the wealth that awaits us. This is our great task and the task of several generations that come after us. Our wealth and our well being will increase as fast as we do it.

I have no doubt that the principle of the Raiffeisen credit society will be adopted in North Carolina sooner or later. I have come here to see if we may not do ourselves the honor to adopt it here before anybody else in the United States adopts it.

The farm demonstration organization leads in the right direction. These unselfish men are directly preparing the way for such credit societies. They bring men to the very door of such a thought.

The difficult part of the task is to make a beginning. To make a beginning two things are necessary—first, to find a community of farmers who are willing to borrow money cheap and for a long time on such conditions, each to pledge himself for the other's debt. Let them organize. Let them appoint a managing committee. Let the managing committee pass on the applications and reject or approve them. Let them select a cashier, who is the only paid officer of the organization and who is, in fact, little more than a responsible bookkeeper.

Then the money must be got at first from some outside source. In a little while these societies will have money of their own, for their members would deposit their earnings with them as in a savings bank. But at first somebody must lend the money.

Let us come down to practical action. We do not get far by merely discussing the general principle. Call a meeting in Raleigh of men who are willing to lend a little money at six per cent for say four years on this best of all security, to be paid back in installments; and let us get together a few thousand dollars. Then find a neighborhood in the country where men will band themselves together in the way I have described to borrow it and to put it to productive uses. Neither of these tasks will be hard to do.

You will start a great movement and make a great chapter in North Carolina history. You will be surprised to find how rapidly the idea will grow and spread and how many millions of dollars will very soon go through these channels to the productive development of the soil and to the making of our farmers into business men.

I should like the honor of being among the first group formed either to lend money in this way or I should like to have the honor to be one of the first group of borrowers, or I should be willing to be both. We need money down in Richmond and Moore counties where I have a farm, every man of us who has land there. I am not afraid to join my fortunes with the fortunes of my best neighbors and agree (all for each) to borrow your money for productive uses. I am not afraid to lend money to any such group of men in Wake County or in any county in the State.

Let us try it. And while we perfect our arrangements, let some good North Carolina lawyer who loves his fellows look into the State statutes to see what enactment may be needed to legalize this sort of a transaction, and if any be necessary, let us ask the incoming Legislature to enact it.

This is a wide vista—to work to the securing of capital enough properly to develop all the productive land in North Carolina, and at the same time to develop all the men on the land.

But this is only the beginning of such an enterprise. Remember that

this would require many hundreds of millions of dollars, that it would be invested productively, that it would be more safely secured than any other money that men now invest; and remember that every borrower of it would be using it not only to make his own independence but also to train himself and all his neighbors into better business habits, into a higher financial character and a greater economic force. All this is much. But there is another great task that this would do.

You have heard of a money trust in the United States or of a credit trust—an irresistible force which draws all our movable money into the reach of great money barons for their own uses, legitimate and speculative. Congress investigates this grave problem; politicians discuss it; economists write about it.

This great trust is not a consciously malevolent body of men who sat down and deliberately made this machinery that draws our money within their uses. It is the natural and necessary result of our financial and economic organization—of the organization by the town for the town.

Suppose we set a plan afoot which would draw one hundred million dollars to North Carolina farms. Suppose every other undeveloped rural State did the same thing. Then we should not hear more of a great national money trust. Our money would not be moved to New York. On the contrary, New York money would seek us because of the great safety of this form of investment which we had to offer.

A by-product of the proper organization of country finance would be the removal of our greatest financial evil.

It is always so when you set one class of men free here, you soon discover that you have set another class free somewhere else. Freedom begets freedom. And the only real freedom is economic freedom. The only sound basis of life is a sound economic basis.

We need money—incalculable millions of money—to save and rightly to use, to develop and to make beautiful this great heritage of ours. What have we to attract money, to pay money to come to us? We have our land and our country men. Money runs after a strong man. A little man runs after money; and money runs from a fool.

Now if the honest country men of North Carolina who own their own land will band together, trusting one another, and will borrow money to use in productively developing their land, they will be stronger than Wall Street or than any money trust. Money always runs to safe places. If we make this place safe, it will come to us. We can empty the savings banks; we can tap the great insurance funds; we can draw men and money from all the world. We need only so to preserve and to develop our land as to make it the most famous land in the world and so to use

money in getting riches out of it as to prove that it is the safest land in the world—and that our country men are the safest people.

And do you want literature? With this result you will have something better than literature; but literature will come along with the other arts.

For all things come in a great democracy of men who trust one another, a democracy that really believes in itself and that rests on a care free, happy people who till their own soil well. For this is the only form of wealth and the only basis of happiness that can not pass.

North Carolina Bibliography for 1912

REPORT BY MISS MINNIE W. LEATHERMAN, SECRETARY OF THE NORTH CAROLINA
LIBRARY COMMISSION, TO THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 4, 1912.

In the first place I want to apologize for any sins of omission which this bibliography may betray, and to ask to be informed of any item, or items, which I may unwittingly omit. Anyone attempting the compilation of such a bibliography is confronted with certain difficulties at the outset; but the *North Carolina Review* is of inestimable benefit in this connection, and I take pleasure in expressing my indebtedness to this publication.

The bibliography is arranged under the following heads: : General; Fiction; Compilations, Editions and Translations; Textbooks; and Continuations. Works are arranged alphabetically by author under each head.

I. GENERAL.

- CHESHIRE, RT. REV. JOSEPH BLOUNT. The Church in the Confederate States; a history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States. Longmans (December 14), 1911. 291 pages, D., \$1.50 net.
- CONNOR, ROBERT DIGGES WIMBERLY and POE, C. H. Life and Speeches of Charles Brantley Aycock. Doubleday, 1912. 369 pages, illustrated, D., \$1.50; leather, \$2.50.
- ELLIS, ALEXANDER CASWELL and KYLE, E. J. Fundamentals of Farming and Farm Life. Scribner. 557 pages, illustrated.
- HAHN, GEORGE W. Catawba Soldier of the Civil War. Hickory, Clay Printing Company, 1911. 385 pages, illustrated, O., \$1.70.
- HORNE, HERMAN HARRELL. Free Will and Human Responsibility: A Philosophical Argument. Macmillan, 1912. 197 pages, D., \$1.50 net.
- JOHNSTON, CHARLES HUGHES. High School Education; Professional Treatments of the Administrative, Supervisory, and Specifically Pedagogical. Functions of Secondary Education, with Special Reference to American Conditions. Scribner, 1912. 555 pages, D., \$1.50 net.
- LYLE, SAMUEL HARLEY, JR. By-Ways Franklin, North Carolina. Published by the author, 1912. 28 pages, O., paper, 50 cents net.
- MCBEE, SILAS. An Eirenic Itinerary: Impressions of Our Tour; with Addresses and Papers on the Unity of Christian Churches. Longmans (November), 1911. 225 pages, illustrated, D., \$1.00 net.

- MOOSE, J. ROBERT. *Village Life in Korea*. Nashville, Publishing House M. E. Church, South (September), 1911. 242 pages, O., \$1.00.
- PEMBERTON, VIRGINIA CARROLL. *Letters From Italy, Switzerland, and Germany*. Cincinnati. Jennings, 1912. 196 pages, illustrated, D., \$1.
- POE, CLARENCE HAMILTON. *Where Half the World is Waking Up; the Old and the New in Japan, China, the Philippines, and India; reported with special reference to American conditions*. Doubleday (December), 1911. 276 pages, illustrated, O., \$1.25 net.
- POE, CLARENCE HAMILTON. Joint Author. See Connor, Robert Digges Wimberly.
- RAPER, CHARLES LEE. *Railway Transportation: a History of Its Economics and of Its Relation to the States; Based, with the Author's Permission, upon President Hadley's "Railroad Transportation: Its History and Its Laws."* Putnam, 1912. 331 pages, O., \$1.50 net.
- SHEPHERD, HENRY ELLIOTT. *Representative Authors of Maryland, from the Earliest Time to the Present Day; With Biographical Notes and Comments Upon Their Work*. Whitehall Publishing Company (May 15), 1911. 234 pages, illustrated, D., \$1.50.
- SMITH, CHARLES ALPHONSO. *American Short Story*. Ginn, 1912. 50 pages, D., 60 cents net. School edition, 50 cents net.
- This is Chapter XVI of his *Die Amerikanische Literatur*.
- SMITH, CHARLES ALPHONSO. *Die Amerikanische Literatur; vorlesungen gehalten an der koeniglichen Friedrich Wilhelms-Universitat zu Berlin*. Lemcke, 1912. 388 pages, D., \$1.65 net.

II. FICTION.

- DIXON, THOMAS, JR. *Sins of the Father; a Romance of the South*. Appleton, 1912. 462 pages, illustrated, D., \$1.35 net.
- MORGAN, ALICE. *Boy Who Brought Christmas*; illustrated by John Jackson. Doubleday (October), 1911. 139 pages, D. Boards, 50 cents net.
- ROBINSON, CELLA MYROVER. *Rowena's Happy Summer; with pictures by Hope Dunlap*. Rand, McNally, 1912. 104 pages, D., 60 cents net.
- TIERNAN, MRS. FRANCES CHRISTINE (Fisher). (Christian Reid, pseud). *Light of the Vision*. Notre Dame, Ave Maria Press, 1911. 362 pages, D., \$1.25.
- Noel: *A Christmas Story*. Columbia Press, 1911. 10 cents.
- Wargrave Trust, Benziger (November), 1911. 384 pages, D., \$1.25.

III. COMPILATIONS, EDITIONS, TRANSLATIONS.

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Volume XI, No. 4, Connor, H. G., "James Iredell, 1751-1799"; Smith, C. L., "Davidson Caldwell, Teacher, Preacher, Patriot"; Connor, R. D. W., "Governor Samuel Johnston."

Volume XII, No. 1. Wiley, Calvin H., "Swannanoa"; McNeely, R. N., "Union County and the Old Waxhaw Settlement"; Haywood, M. deL., "The Masonic Revolutionary Patriots of North Carolina"; Diary of George Washington; Cameron, Rebecca, "A Partisan Leader in 1776."

Volume XII, No. 2, Henderson, Archibald, "Elizabeth Maxwell Steel: Patriot"; Patterson, Mrs. Lindsay, "Palmyra in the Hoppy Valley"; Cobb, Collier, "Forests of North Carolina"; Trinity College Historical Society, "Annual Publication of Historical Papers, Series IX."

The *North Carolina Review*, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, *North Carolina Education*, *North Carolina Library Bulletin*, and the magazines of the various colleges and universities have been issued as usual. The *Alumni Review* is a new publication of the University of North Carolina.

It may be of some slight interest to compare the foregoing with the literary output of the entire United States. As a critic has recently said, "Books are still being published in this country." Statistics for the present year are not yet available, but last year there were published 10,400, an average of about 206 for each State. Considering the number of new books from the standpoint of population North Carolina should have produced about 260 books. To her credit be it said that she is responsible for only 31. We are not so much concerned with quantity as with quality. A State that has to her credit in a single year such books as Bishop Cheshire's, Dr. Smith's, Professor Horne's, Dr. Raper's, Mr. Poe's, Dr. and Mrs. Henderson's translation, and "The Life and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock" may well be proud of her record, and indifferent to the fact that the saying of Solomon on this subject, "Of making many books there is no end," is not applicable to North Carolina.

Neglected Phases of North Carolina History

ADDRESS BY W. K. BOYD, PH.D., PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN TRINITY COLLEGE,
BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
DECEMBER 4, 1912.

"The world's memory must be kept alive or we shall never see an end of its old mistakes. We are in danger to become infantile in every generation. This is the real menace under which we cower in this age of change."

In these words the President-elect of the United States has stated the practical value of history and the function of the historian. Accurate knowledge, sympathy, and prophetic insight, which give ability to meet the problems of today, can not be secured without an acquaintance with the conditions of yesterday. It is the high privilege of the historian to furnish that knowledge, to awaken that sympathy, and to inspire a vision of humanity's real needs. He must, therefore, continually refresh the world's memory, ever recalling events and ideas half forgotten in order that a proper conception of cause and effect may be established between the new experience of today and the phenomena of yesterday. For this reason history must be constantly rewritten. The experience of each generation must be correlated with that of the preceding; its predominant interests must be analyzed as forces of the past as well as of the present.

Indeed the historiography of Europe and America has been little more than a series of appeals to memory whose nature has been shaped by the rise and decline of the varied interests of humanity. In the primitive stages of historical activity the ancestral motive has always been predominant, and biography is the earliest type of history. Witness the heroic myths of the early Greeks, the lives of Plutarch, the legends of the mediæval saints, and in our own country Jared Sparks's biographies of the founders of the republic. Gradually interest in the fathers widens into a sense of national existence; the story of expansion and conquest and to some extent that of governmental organization, are then emphasized. Polybius told the story of the rise and expansion of the Roman state; Macchiavelli brought a similar interest to the historiography of early modern history; Voltaire and Montesquieu to that of the eighteenth century.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the world's memory was invoked concerning two phases of experience comparatively neglected; these were the institutional and the economic. The political reorganiza-

tion of Europe required new adjustments in government; light on the problem was sought from the past. Scholars and publicists searched the customs of the early Germans and the provincials of the Roman Empire in order to find an institutional basis for a new Germany and a new France. From the continent the study of institutional history spread first to England, then to the United States, creating a host of books too large, and many of them too dull, to be read in one short lifetime. Contemporary with political reorganization occurred those changes in the production and distribution of wealth generally known as the industrial revolution. In the hour of readjustment the world's memory was again invoked, and today a modest inquiry about the industrial experience of previous centuries is met by a veritable deluge of economic histories. In more recent years there has been a growing conviction that the solution of human problems does not lie entirely in institutions or "the meat that perishes"; the world's memory is again being invoked in order to recall what man has thought, how his knowledge has been transmitted, the nature of his religion, and even what he has hoped or dreamed to be. Thus more emphasis is being placed on social or cultural history; some call it the new history.

Now it is my purpose to inquire how far the study and writing of North Carolina history has kept pace with these world movements in historiography; how the memory of life in Carolina may contribute to the larger story of our country's development, and how our history may become of service in meeting the complex problems of the present.

Biography, the most primitive manifestation of the historical impulse, has long had an honorable place in the literature of North Carolina history. Indeed, the biographies of North Carolinians far outnumber the histories of the State, general or monographic. There are certain organizations whose chief purpose is to perpetuate the memory of distinguished men. The rotunda of the Capitol will soon be filled with memorial statues, and seven volumes of a Biographical History of North Carolina have been published, with others to follow. This instinct for biography is a worthy one, for to give leadership its proper place in the story of progress requires an insight and a creative art of the highest order; especially should it be fostered in the present day when there is an undue tendency in historical writings to emphasize impersonal forces to the exclusion of the power that comes from a great personality. Nor has there been lacking in North Carolina an active interest in political development, that second stage in the growth of historical interest. Francis Xavier Martin and Hugh Williamson, inspired by the success of the revolution and the promise before the nascent state, set for themselves the task of describing the origin and

growth of the commonwealth they loved so well. An insufficiency of sources, a lack of perspective on account of the very nearness of the past era they described, and the dominant taste in historical writing made their works little more than annals, but all who have since undertaken their task, with the exception of Hawks, have followed their method.

Here, then, the correlation of historical activity in North Carolina with the wide course of historiography, national and international, ceases. In this age that demands a rational explanation of all phenomena, where can be found a genetic treatment of those institutions of government and law, which, perhaps more than all other influences, convey a conception of North Carolina? The last four decades have witnessed a social and economic transformation among us equaled in modern history only by that from feudal to imperial Japan; but not only is the accurate knowledge of experience during these years so requisite to meet the problems of today lacking, but the more ancient landmarks antedating the present era are almost lost to view. Here, indeed, is the menace that confronts this "age of change"; flushed with a realization of its new-born power, it may become so infantile as to live without consciousness of a past; if so, that correlation of the problems of the present with previous experience, so essential in all human affairs, will be lacking, and old mistakes will be made anew.

The best evidence of this criticism is the fact that there is no comprehensive history of North Carolina from the close of the Revolution to 1860. It is true that a few monographs have been written and a few books published on some phases of the period, but there is no well rounded presentation that might be designated a history. Yet in the light of present conditions, those years were vastly important in the development of North Carolina. The fundamental economic, intellectual, and religious forces in the life of today were then either established or, if previously existing, they were profoundly affected. Also the normal political tendencies of the people were more active then than before or since. In short, life in North Carolina between the close of the Revolution and the opening of the Civil War underwent a profound transformation; no intelligent conception of progress in the State, social or industrial, can be formed without some intensive knowledge of this middle period. Yet there is no organization dedicated to its achievements and its workers, no group of students bending their efforts to its investigation, and little or no public historical interest in it.

A more concrete illustration of this limitation of our historical interests is that the history of a large, and I believe the most important section of the State, has been to a large degree neglected. I refer to the

Piedmont section, which extends from a line passing through Raleigh westward to the mountains. The attempted colonization at Roanoke Island, the early days of Albemarle, the development of the Cape Fear region, the rise of the Revolution, the Civil War, and to some extent Reconstruction, have secured a large and permanent place in our traditional history, but they were all primarily eastern movements, and the east suffered and triumphed most in them. It is true that there are a few works relating to the religious and racial origins of the Piedmont, as well as a few county histories, but in none of them is there an adequate treatment of the section in the period when it rose to power in politics and became a leader in intellectual life, viz.: from the close of the Revolution to 1860. In biography there are a number of volumes on eastern leaders and a host of biographical addresses and pamphlets, while on the makers of the Piedmont section there are less than six volumes and barely a handful of pamphlets. Moreover, eastern leaders are memorialized in the names of western counties to a far greater extent than the leaders of the Piedmont. In the light of these facts, the next advance in historical interest in North Carolina should be towards a better understanding of this neglected region, during an equally neglected period, viz., from the close of the Revolution to 1860. The material relating to its history should be reclaimed from the garret, the woodhouse, and other "corroding teeth of time," and certain phases of its development should be worked out. With no claims to prophecy and with knowledge of a limited number of sources, let me outline some questions for investigation in this section during the period of its rise to power and leadership.

First of all the economic conditions require serious consideration, for then as today they presented the most notable phenomena of the region. From 1790 to 1830 the relative rank of North Carolina among the States in respect to population declined from third to fifth. The valuation of the lands in 1833 showed a decline over that of 1815, although a million acres had been entered for occupation. A deep sense of depression characterized all discussions of the resources and opportunities of life in North Carolina. The cause most frequently given for this was the condition of trade. From colonial days a lack of harbors and a physiographic sectionalism forced the North Carolinian to seek markets beyond State borders. The cost of transportation made profits very small and wealth hard to acquire. Moreover, the absence of domestic trading centers prevented that mingling of people which was necessary to break down the prejudice born of divers racial elements and political sectionalism.

The effect of this condition of trade upon the Piedmont was especially

harmful. With the exception of Fayetteville its markets were Charleston, South Carolina, Petersburg and Norfolk, Virginia, and Philadelphia. No one can read the accounts of the disadvantages of the Piedmont farmer and the large amount he added to the profits of the South Carolina and Virginia merchants without being reminded of the advantage in freight rates which Virginia cities enjoy today. Doubtless this disadvantage in matters of trade was the basis of the characterization of North Carolina as "a valley of despondency between two mountains of conceit."

But the details of this condition of trade are scarcely known; for instance, what was the cost of living in that day of distant markets? The standard illustration in the pamphlets advocating roads and railways was the cost of salt in Statesville, fifty cents a bushel; might not other prices be obtained from diaries, account books, family correspondence, and advertisements in the newspapers? Then, how did these prices compare with those paid by the planters of Eastern Virginia and lower South Carolina? Not until an answer is found to these inquiries can the actual loss sustained by the Carolinian of the interior through trade conditions be estimated. Furthermore, the distance of markets retarded the growth of a credit system in commerce; this in turn created a demand for bank notes; and the consequent inflation of the currency brought about speculation and panics. Now the printed sources at present available describing this situation are limited; there is need for information showing the influence of commerce on the life of the people in various communities and sections, and the resulting attitude of the electorate toward public economic questions, State and national.

Such a condition of trade gave rise to the movement for better transportation facilities by State aid, first for canals and waterways, then for turnpikes and railroads. This was the chief economic feature of the epoch from 1850 to 1860, and it did much to create a prosperity that stands in strong contrast to the preceding years. From the reports of surveys and the various navigation, turnpike and railway companies, an outline of the new means of transportation can be obtained; but for the effects of the life of the people the sources are almost entirely silent. Illustrative of this fact is that nothing is known of the rise of land values except that which comes from the reassessment reported by the treasurer; nor to what extent prices were affected, or how the acquisition of wealth was improved, or the way in which sectional antagonism and provincialism were alleviated. A good example from unwritten local history is found in Anson County. For years its people had been compelled to make the long, difficult journey either to Fayetteville or

Charleston in search of a market. In the thirties the Fayetteville and Western Turnpike was chartered to connect Fayetteville and Salisbury; the surveys marked the road through Anson. At once property values increased and a new town was established along the proposed route which, by virtue of location, promised to be a commercial emporium for the surrounding country. Its name was Sneedsborough. But, alas, the Fayetteville and Western Turnpike never reached the Anson line. Deprived of its commercial asset, Sneedsborough languished, became a straggling village, and today is hardly known beyond the confines of the county. Now a student of Georgia history has enumerated a score of towns in that State, whose fate was determined by the process of economic development.* Who can tell how many Sneedsboroughs rose and declined during the age of road and railway building in North Carolina?

The material for reconstructing these phases of the life of the past lie largely in local or family records that are fast disappearing. For instance, a few years ago one of the contractors engaged in building the North Carolina Railroad died. He had been a large trader under the old system of commerce; his correspondence was extensive and he had kept the letters he had received; but these were sold with a lot of old furniture at the executor's sale, and the buyer burned them. How many similar collections of letters, old account books, diaries, or bills of sale yet survive in your community and mine?

Transportation was by no means the only economic problem of the Piedmont in the middle period. There was a strong impulse toward manufactures. Deprived of easy markets, the people were thrown on their own resources for manufactured goods. In 1794 Tench Coxe described a number of North Carolina industries; later, in 1810, he estimated that the value of manufactures in North Carolina produced under the old domestic system was greater than that of Massachusetts under both the domestic and factory systems. Now it is perfectly apparent that the prospects for a great development of manufactures was checked on the one hand by the industrial revolution in New England, and on the other by the extension into the Piedmont of an agricultural system based on slavery and cotton. But the manufacturing impulse was not obliterated by these forces. There was a class of small manufacturers such as makers of carriages, wagons, and farm implements, coopers, wheelwrights, distillers, tanners, hatters, and makers of boots and shoes, cabinets and chairs, who thrived down to 1860. Indeed, if the antebellum industrial promise had been entirely fulfilled today, manufactures would be more diversified than they are. The greatest

*Jones: Dead Towns of Georgia.

danger to these industries was really not slavery but the competition of manufactures of other States and the distant markets. Protection was sought in a series of laws which imposed discriminatory license taxes. Peddlers or salesmen of carriages not made in North Carolina were required to pay a tax of \$30 in each county, and establishments selling carriages, any part of which was made of material imported into the State, were taxed \$100; but if the carriages were made entirely of North Carolina material the tax was only \$50. Likewise drummers selling goods not grown or manufactured in the State were taxed \$50; peddlers retailing on land the manufactures of other States paid a tax of \$20 in each county; the retailer of liquors was required to pay ten per cent if his stock was bought outside of North Carolina; if he patronized home distillers he paid only five per cent. Now these laws were clearly in conflict with the Federal Constitution; but the North Carolina legislators either never read that document or, if they did, they disregarded it. Nothing better illustrates the contrast between interstate commerce regulations then and now than these provisions of the antebellum revenue code. Now if these taxes protecting the North Carolina manufacturer against his competitor in Virginia and South Carolina were a good thing, was not a national law affording protection to all American manufactures against foreign competition also something to be desired? It is not surprising therefore to find Governor Morehead explaining to the Legislature of 1842 the true doctrine and benefits of the protective principle.

There were two very suggestive manifestations of this industrial spirit in North Carolina worthy of emphasis. They were strongly in evidence in the decade before the Civil War. First was a tendency toward industrial independence of other States, especially those of the North and East. The number of manufacturing establishments increased thirty-eight per cent from 1850 to 1860, the capital invested thirty per cent and the products eighty-three per cent. Contemporary with this development the *Raleigh Standard*, the most influential newspaper of the time, called on the people to patronize home merchants and manufactures in preference to those of the North. "We must learn," said the editor, "as a people to stand alone and to live as much as possible within ourselves." Thus a conviction grew that North Carolina was different from the sister States, a kind of industrial State pride developed which tended to widen into a sense of sectional nationality. Undoubtedly here was an economic basis for the secession sentiment that triumphed in 1861. The other manifestation of the industrial spirit was the rise of class consciousness on the part of the mechanics and those not identified with the slave system. It found expression in the

ad valorem taxation campaign of 1858 and 1860, and had it not been for the national issue of the latter year the Whig party would probably have carried the State on the *ad valorem* issue.

Now all the information at present available regarding the industries and the industrial class in North Carolina is in a comparatively small number of sources. We need a search for more information. Moreover, how thoroughly the manufacturing spirit permeated the Piedmont, and the continuity between it and the industrial phenomena of today, have yet to be revealed; also, the amount and the distribution of the wealth derived from the State protection to industries offers a worthy subject for study as well as the class feeling against slavery prior to the *ad valorem* campaign. Here is an opportunity to make a study of those conditions which most differentiated North Carolina from the larger slave holding States in the past and which have established its industrial supremacy of today.

These economic conditions are not merely of local importance; they are vitally related to the social history of the Southwest and the Northwest. Attracted by better opportunities hosts of North Carolinians joined the endless procession of the migration to those regions. All estimates of the migration from North Carolina prior to 1830 run into the hundreds of thousands, and from 1830 to 1840 population, on account of it, was at a standstill. The North Carolinians in Alabama and Georgia stood together in politics and often shaped the results of elections. Yet for specific information regarding the contribution of North Carolina to the life of other regions, one must turn to the local histories of other States.† Here is an opportunity for a genealogist with a feeling for the larger social movements among the people, a socialized genealogist, who will trace the families or members of families that migrated from North Carolina, find where they settled, and what they individually and collectively contributed to the life of the new region.

Economic problems were not the only phenomena of the Piedmont section during the middle period. It is very significant that while improvements were being made in transportation from 1830 to 1860, a corresponding advance was made in intellectual conditions. The public school laws of 1838 and 1840 were the first of their kind in the South and they stimulated the cause of education elsewhere. But of the intellectual equipment of the schools we know very little; what, for instance, was the curriculum, what were the textbooks, and how did these compare with the educational activity in other States? Older than the public schools, and surviving long after they were established,

†Gilmer: Sketches of the First Settlers of Early Georgia. Saunders and Stubbs: Early Settlers of Alabama.

were the private academies. Of them even less is known than of the public schools. What were the influences that established them, and the relation of these influences to the movement for public education? What were the curriculum and equipment of the private academies? The descent of the academy in New England from the English-Latin schools has been established; were the academies in North Carolina an isolated phenomena, or have they, too, a part in the evolution of education in the United States?

The question of the schools naturally leads to that of popular standards of education and illiteracy. Much light on these matters might be found in the local records. One of the leading investigators of Virginia history has examined the court records and noted the educational requirements in the bonds given by those to whom children were apprenticed or bound out. Thus a conception is obtained of the standard of the educational needs of the common man. How far that standard was effective, so far as illiteracy was concerned, is then ascertained by taking a thousand signatures in the court records and noting how many of them were made by mark. The proportion of this illiteracy to the thousand is taken for the average of the county.¹ Would not a similar examination of the court records of certain typical counties in North Carolina give a better idea than we now have of the educational efficiency of the old time schools? Intellectual life, both in the sense of the development of ideas and the story of a cultivated class, has not been the subject of extensive historical inquiry. What aid its investigation would give in understanding mankind, past and present, remains to be realized.

Any inquiry into the educational history of a people necessarily involves questions pertaining to religion. The more primitive the conditions of life, the more powerful are the religious perceptions. Comparative religion explains this by finding that creeds grow up of customs, and in the early stages of religion customs are shaped by social needs, as protection against the blind forces of nature, public enemies, or "the pestilence of noonday." Consequently in the transfer of religious institutions from other colonies and the Old World to North Carolina, creeds had a larger hold on the minds of the people than today, because religion was a social bond as well as an attitude toward the Infinite. A familiar example is the Quakers of Albemarle; less widely known is that of the Baptists of the Piedmont. About the middle of the eighteenth century a group of New Jersey Baptists settled on the Yadkin and two other groups left Virginia and found new homes in Alamance and Anson counties. Here are examples of that coloniza-

¹Bruce: Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century.

tion by groups and congregations which characterized New England; a further study of the matter would doubtless forever destroy that ancient contrast between the Cavalier of the South and the Puritan of New England. The same bond that caused such settlements welded the people together in later years. Around it developed an educational sentiment when public schools were a dreamer's vision. It shaped opinions on such important social questions as Free Masonry, the morality of slavery, and prohibition. Finally it became a factor in politics. David Caldwell had a part in framing the first Constitution of the State and did much to save the Piedmont for the Revolution. Elkanah Watson heard a sermon against the Federal Constitution in a church in Warren County; a number of ministers were elected to the Legislature and two to Congress. But the story of religion as a large social bond among people not only remains to be written, but the sources from which it might be written are widely scattered or lost. I believe that the records can best be rescued and the story written by small sections, perhaps county by county.

With these fundamental economic and social conditions explained, the course of political development can be understood. Too long has the study of politics been divorced from an adequate knowledge of what the people needed, of what they thought, or of what they dreamed to be. Especially is this true of Piedmont North Carolina. Here has always been a restiveness and an uncertainty in political opinion which has made, then destroyed, more than one promising political career. The ancient antagonism of the West and the East grew out of an economic and social, as well as a political, cleavage. Moreover, it was the economic and social need that created the two great anomalies in our antebellum history; one, that North Carolina should have supported the movement to recharter the second Bank of the United States, the protective tariff, and internal improvements by Federal aid, when these measures were opposed by the South at large; the other, that the Whig party should have found its strength in those portions of North Carolina in which the slave system did not dominate, and the democracy in those where it did, while the situation in the far South was just the reverse.

For every need there is a remedy, for every task a method. How can these neglected phases of the past be best recalled to memory and given their proper place in our history? I believe only by a twofold survey of the political, economic and social heritage of North Carolina; one based on the smallest available local unit, presumably the county, and the sources relating to it; the other based on a State-wide organization, general sources and archives. For each the following suggestions are offered.

In the investigation by counties more emphasis than has been customary should be placed on economic conditions. An estimate of the natural resources can be obtained from the various publications of the State Geological Survey, of which an excellent bibliography has been published.¹ How these resources have been utilized is a more difficult question. Such matters as the average size of farms, the development of the labor system, the products of the land and land values, trade routes, prices, industries, and population, should be analyzed as far as possible. For this purpose the United States Census official records, printed and manuscript, private correspondence, diaries, and account books should be carefully examined. To collect and classify such details requires an almost infinite amount of patience, and often an apparently undue attention to useless details. But such information, culled from a variety of sources, plantation by plantation, county by county, are the material used in reconstructing the economic life of Europe; they will prove equally illuminating, not only for the economic history of North Carolina, but for that of the entire South.

Closely related to economic conditions are racial origins, for they have been quite a factor in shaping industries in the new world. Admirable examples of what may be done with this phase of the past is found in Mr. Frank Nash's "History of Orange County" and Nixon's "German Settlements of Lincoln County."² More difficult is a proper use of the art of genealogy. Names of departed citizens may be found in large numbers; but such essential data as their occupation, and, if they left their homes, whence they migrated and why, are rarely stated, though they might throw considerable light on the larger economic questions of the past.

The history of religion may best be given a reality when studied locally, for questions of theology are necessarily eliminated and the church as a factor in social life naturally has a clearer perspective than in the general histories of denominations. Consequently the local church records should be collected and carefully examined; in them much information will be found regarding amusements, relations between whites and blacks, standards of education, as well as the ways in which organized religion has expressed itself. If nothing more was done than to bring together in one place the records of the churches, the attempt at a county history would be justified, for a sense of the value of material too often left to waste and oblivion would be diffused, and this would lead to the collection of other sources.

Educational history in the sense of the rise of a public opinion con-

¹Laney and Wood: Bibliography of North Carolina Geology, Mineralogy, and Geography. Bulletin 18, North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey.

²North Carolina Booklet, October, 1910; James Sprunt Historical Publications, Vol. XI, No. 2.

cerning knowledge and the duty to impart it, can best be visualized through county history. For example, there is in the collections of the Trinity College Historical Society a letter written in 1884 from John C. Scarborough, Superintendent of Education, to an officer of Lenoir County interpreting the Dortch School Law of 1877 to mean that a local tax for school purposes, once voted, to be permanent; also there is an affidavit by a citizen of that county that he had not signed a petition for a second election on school taxes. These documents at once suggest an inquiry into the early steps in the reconstruction of public education since the war; the Dortch law must be read; then the sentiment for local tax in Lenoir County must be examined as well as the schools that were developed; and finally the case in the Supreme Court interpreting the law must be consulted. Thus the study of local school history leads into the general educational history of the State.

As previously stated, political history is to a large degree determined by economic and social factors. Indeed these have been issues in local more frequently than in general State history, for in State politics national affairs often have an undue prominence. The real genius of the people is seen best of all in local or county affairs. An intensive study of politics, industry, and economic conditions in a dozen North Carolina counties since 1876 would explain many State-wide issues. Equally effective would be such a survey of county affairs in the Piedmont section prior to 1860. So far as I know the only study of any period of State history by the county method is now being conducted at the University of Mississippi. There the advanced students in history are writing the story of reconstruction of counties, although a good general history of reconstruction in Mississippi was published a decade ago.¹

All of the neglected life of the past can not be recalled through local records. The results of investigation by localities must be synthesized and information supplementary to it must be culled from other than county sources. Here lies the opportunity of a central organization or authority basing its work on matters of State-wide interest. For instance, a bibliography of the material in the State archives relating to county history, also one of pamphlets and printed sources, would prove of inestimable value. This work could hardly be undertaken by a local, but it might be by a general organization. Also studies in some of the larger social movements which have touched the life of the people should be undertaken, such as the construction of turnpikes and highways, temperance and prohibition, and the rise of an educational sentiment. A study of such topics of general importance as public finances, the

¹See publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, Vols. XI and XII, for studies in Mississippi counties during Reconstruction.

history of party machinery and organization, the development of the judicial system, and local government would greatly aid in the local investigation, and local research in turn would illuminate these general questions. As a contribution to political history maps showing the votes by counties and districts in State and Federal elections might prove of value to the politician as well as those interested in local history. Charts might also be made showing the growth of educational facilities, county by county and decade by decade, the growth of certain industries and their antecedents, or the types of plantations. The possible value of such surveys of the State, supplemented by studies of local conditions, can hardly be estimated; the educator might find in them some definite knowledge of the attitude toward intellectual improvement in the community in which he works, the capitalist of the antecedents of his employees, the politician a sense of the solidarity or uncertainty of the electorate, and those interested in history a storehouse of helpful data.

Is such an intensive study of North Carolina history possible? The answer is found in the experience and example of other States. In this matter as in shaping political issues the Northwest holds the leadership. In Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa there are a number of county and local historical societies, and in the library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society there is a card index of material relating to county history. That organization, also the Iowa Historical Society, provides for affiliation with local historical societies.

More important than this superiority in organization is the new interest in social and economic factors which has characterized the study of local history in the Northwestern States. This has been fostered by general historical organizations. In two States marked progress has been made. In Iowa the *Annals of Iowa*, an historical magazine of the conventional type, has been supplemented by the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, devoted largely to economic and social movements in the history of the State. The State Historical Society of Iowa, through appropriations for research, has done much towards putting the writing of Iowa history on a new plane. During the past summer eight mature students were engaged at Iowa City investigating as many topics in the political and social history of the State.

In Illinois, the State Historical Survey was organized in 1909 to bring about coöperation between the colleges and universities and the State Historical Society. Its activities have included an examination of county archives, the collection of manuscripts, and a bibliography of travels and guide books of Illinois. In addition to this kind of activity, which has long characterized historical organizations, new possibilities

in the local field have been realized. I quote from a forthcoming report of the Survey:

"In addition to making available the books and manuscripts from which the history of Illinois must be written, the Survey is paving the way for definite studies of certain aspects of that history. In the field of politics, for example, no attempt has been made until very recently to study the subject on the basis of election returns by counties, the investigators being content with general results and a superficial study of conventions and campaigns. The Survey has obtained from the office of the Secretary of State complete returns by counties for all important elections prior to 1880. These have been tabulated in the form of percentages and on the basis of the statistics thus obtained a series of maps is being constructed illustrating by colors and gradations the distribution of the vote at the various elections. With such material before him it is possible for the student of political history to say something definite about the attitude of the electorate in different parts of the State.

"For the interpretation of political statistics of this sort a knowledge of the different elements which make up the population of the State and of their respective proportions in different sections is essential. Many generalizations on this topic have been made but the Survey is attempting by the study of the census schedules and of representative lists of inhabitants of different counties to secure accurate and reliable data. Tables are also being compiled on the basis of the State and national censuses, statistics of elections and other data, by which it is hoped to show the approximate population of each county in the State for every year. Still another way in which the spread of population across the State is to be illustrated is by a map showing the date of the first settlement of each township or precinct. Data for this is to be found principally in the county histories, but the untrustworthiness of these sources renders a large amount of verification necessary before the information can be used. Similar studies of the progressive advance of settlement will be made from the land office data of the taking up of the public domain.

"Another tool which will be of great service in editorial and research work is a biographical index which is being compiled by the Survey. This contains at present cards for about seven thousand names of men including all who have held State office from Member of Assembly up, with enough information about the man to identify him, and references to places where further information can be found. This index will probably serve in time as a starting point for the compilation for a publication of a biographical dictionary of Illinois people."

The work thus underway in the Northwest has already been the means of recalling forgotten phases of the history of that region; it will undoubtedly bring to light a vast amount of new data in the future; it will also stimulate the work of county historical societies. Who shall say how effective might be a concerted movement by local and State historical societies in the South toward a better understanding of the past, in the interest of history and of those movements for social betterment which will inevitably come in the future?

Democracy and Literature

ADDRESS BY ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, PH.D., PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 4, 1912.

A great issue which we all face in the North Carolina of today is the problem of literature in a democracy. If I appeal for guidance to the life of the past, it is in recognition of the principle that we must "read the lesson of the past in order to teach the present how to shape the future." The economic life is the fundamental condition of all life. "To economic causes," says Seligman, "must be traced, in last instance, those transformations in the structure of society which themselves condition the relations of social classes and the manifestations of social life." Only in the life of the sovereign people, as reflected in our history, are to be found the creative seeds from which the flower of a great literature may spring. It is that power originally lodged in the people, and once more asserted by them in the tremendous political upheaval of this hour, to which we confidently look for the rediscovery of economic liberty, of equality of opportunity, and of spiritual freedom in the nation, under the guidance of such great Southerners—Southerners by birth or by inheritance—as Woodrow Wilson, Oscar Underwood, and Thomas Marshall. It is to that same power of a risen people, awakened in the intellectual as in the political realm, that we look for the realization in our midst of a new, a golden age of literary culture.

"Art," says Tolstoy, "knows the true ideal of our times, and tends towards it." If we may but discover and body forth this "true ideal of our times," then may we look hopefully for the art which tends towards it—"art transmitting the simplest feelings of common life, but such always as are accessible to all men in the whole world—the art of common life—the art of a people—universal art." The literature of the future is the literature truly autochthonous—literary products which seem as if self-risen from some miraculous soil, nourished by the mind and the soul. Today the whole world is one vast democracy—the democracy of the spirit. "It is from the struggle of the great duty of charity and justice against our egoism and ignorance," says Maeterlinck, "that the supreme literature of this new century shall spring."

In the intellectual and cultural history of the South we are confronted with four distinctive periods, each leaving its ineffaceable impress upon the life of the nation. The first of these eras in Southern

cultural development is the era of the courtly country gentleman, profound student of politics and history, leisurely reader of the classics and the humanities. In this era the South was far more than the co-partner of the North in shaping the early history of the Union. In a memorable speech in the Senate, Charles Sumner frankly stated that for sixty years the South governed the country through its able men in Congress and the Presidency. In constructive statesmanship, continental thinking, and inspiring nationalism, this era of Southern dominance in national affairs is without a parallel or a comparable equal in our national annals. The writings of the elder Southern statesmen, beyond all doubt, were an invaluable contribution to the literature of America. The State papers of these men, of vast intellectual scope and imaginative reach, breathing lofty ideals yet stiffened by the hardy practicality of the founders of the Republic, stand as yet unrivaled in the nation's intellectual history. They owe their chief eminence less to originality of thought than to adequate interpretation of the needs of a new nation and their universality of application to the problems of our civilization.

Coincident with, and consequent to, this magnificent first cycle in our intellectual evolution came the second era, stretching approximately from 1830 until 1861. There is no era in American history, in relation to the state of culture and the feelings of class consciousness in the South, which has been so crassly misunderstood. One can not wholly blame the romantic novelists for throwing into high focus, if false perspective, the aristocratic and oligarchic features of Southern life—the picturesque and romantic survival upon American soil of a belated feudalism. These were the beautiful and picturesque phases of Southern life, ready made to the hands of the fictive artist; and it is no wonder that people still innocently think of the War between the States as simply a struggle of Puritan and Cavalier, a clash of the ideals of the Lees of Virginia with the ideals of the Adamses of Massachusetts.

There is falsehood—and, I think, vicious falsehood—in this seductive but distorted picture. Recent economic investigations conclusively demonstrate that life in the rural South in antebellum days was democratic, and that the political leaders owed their selection not to a landed aristocracy but to the great masses of the people. There is need for clearer thinking and a truer perspective upon this sociological phase of our development. A State which gave two men to the Presidency prior to 1860, one born in a log cabin, the other in a log house, and at the close of the war a third, born in an attic in this town, can not with any semblance of reason preen itself upon the grasping leadership of a landed aristocracy. The aristocracy of leadership in the South was an aristocracy not of birth but of merit; not of blood, but of sheer, efficient

achievement. The truly typical home of the South was not a Monticello or an Arlington, but a simple four room house, the home of a homogeneous and pure blooded people, breeding the democratic ideals of a Macon and a Vance.

The leaders came from all classes of the people, high and low, rich and poor alike. But the vital deficiency in the situation, it must be clearly indicated, was that whilst all classes furnished leaders the aristocratic, semi-oligarchic class, of lordly leisure and patriarchal dignity, reveled in a monopoly of culture, the great middle class, the structural and preponderant element of the population, remaining submerged in a twilight of sectionalism, provinciality, and obscured vision.

History confirms the familiar theory that epoch-making movements in industrial prosperity are contemporaneous with a quickening of the national life and a vitalization of the intellectual resources. We should expect in the antebellum South an era of fertility in inventiveness and power in imaginative creativeness during the great industrial era subsequent to 1830. New England responded nobly to the economic quickening of the national life with the classic and permanent monuments of American literature, the works of Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, Hawthorne, Emerson, and Holmes. What explanation shall we give of the dearth of literary productivity in the South during the same period?

In the South a local exigency of supreme significance effectually diverted the genius of our people from the library to the rostrum, from the study to the forum. Within the body politic was encysted, like extraneous metal in irritated flesh, the vexing problem of the negro and his destiny. The need of the hour, the subconscious pressure for a vindication of her position on constitutional grounds, summoned the South's great orators and supreme debaters. In this era of secret introspection yet passionate public defense, literature was thrust into the background by the clamorous dominance of orator and statesman. The spoken word came to exercise a relentless tyranny over the written word—a tyranny, let me forcibly remind you, which perseveres in the South to this very day. The superhuman effort to safeguard the rights and interests of the people left little time for the intensive study so indispensable for the production and publication of a body of great literature.

The error of historians in affirming that literary culture found no lodgment in the antebellum South is one of the grave errors which only the documentary facts of the era will effectually combat. I have more than once taken occasion to point out the obstacles which militated then—and which in considerable measure militate today—against wide-

spread preoccupation with literature and the obligations of creative scholarship. The people, an agricultural class, were widely scattered. There were no great cosmopolitan cities to serve as centers of literary activity and forges of creative workmanship. In the South there were no great publishing houses which by their very existence furnish a perpetual incentive to productivity and publication. The political exigency of the hour, the ambition of the Southerner to maintain that political eminence which he had already so effectually established, monopolized the supply of dynamic literary force. If the Southerner, conservative to the backbone, neglected the native authors, it was because of his absorption in the reading of the great classics of English and Continental literature. In his recent book, "The House of Harper," Mr. J. Henry Harper tells of the vast quantity of books, especially important publications of standard literary works, sold by his firm to Southern book buyers in the antebellum period. Another New York publisher acknowledges that his costliest invoices of European literature went "to the old mansions on the banks of the James and the Savannah and the bluffs of the Mississippi." In the recently published account of the publishing firm of the Putnams, established by his father, Dr. George Haven Putnam tells of the great shipments of standard literary works to the South, notably to New Orleans, before the war—greater then, says he most significantly, *than they have ever been since*. "Nothing could be more remarkable," says Joseph LeConte in his Autobiography, "than the wide reading, the deep reflection, the refined culture, and the originality of thought and observation of the Southern planters; and yet the idea of publication never entered their heads."

Following the War between the States, that tragic crisis when the South in the dimness of anguish beheld the loss of wealth, the abolition of prosperity, the violation of the very sanctities of her civilization, this people sternly set themselves to the task of repairing those fallen fortunes and restoring that fair civilization upon broader and more universal outlines. The history of that titanic economic struggle is so integral a part of the life of those in my hearing that I shall dispense with its resumption. From the side of cultural value, it is sufficient to point out two clearly marked phases in the resurgence of the postbellum South.

First, the South has devoted her utmost energies to the rebuilding of a civilization economically laid waste by the ravages of civil war. This she has triumphantly begun; and today the new South moves without restraint and with propulsive impetus along the path of normal industrial and economic progress. The primal and distinctive characteristic of this prosperity is its universal diffusion—the emergence of the aver-

age man from the pressure of economic necessity and the blight of arrested cultural development. The way has been cleared, economically, for the future *rapprochement* of culture and commercialism. The most brilliant social study ever written by a North Carolinian, under the title "Culture and Commercialism," outlining a rational basis for the reconciliation of these two great forces in the future evolution of our commonwealth, is the work of that clear thinker and polished speaker, Edward K. Graham.

Following, if virtually coincident with, the economic restoration of the fallen South, the disestablishment of an individualistic democracy and a pervasively agricultural industry by a communistic democracy and a fully diversified industrial life, has proceeded the tremendous educational crusade of our period. The keynote of that splendid crusade may be found in the words of Pasteur, noblest exemplar of modern civilization: "Democracy is that order in the State which permits each individual to put forth his utmost effort." The Southern people have accepted with an almost fatalistic optimism the doctrine of Socrates that knowledge will lead to right and useful action and conduct. Here in our midst was a vast, untrained democratic mass of people, destined for leadership, but educationally untrained to meet its obligations. Unhesitatingly the South recognized the "common man as the truest asset of democracy," and determined to educate that precious common man to the tasks of leadership in all the avenues of an advancing civilization. The educational leaders of the South of today recognize in universal education the supreme potential force in the moulding of national character, the indispensable prerequisite to the intellectual, literary, and cultural awakening of the future.

"Great is the good fortune of a State," says Aristotle, "in which the citizens have a moderate and sufficient prosperity." Fortunate then is this old Commonwealth of North Carolina, poor in millionaires, but rarely rich in the diffusion of a "moderate and sufficient prosperity." It is matter of experience, Aristotle has elsewhere observed, that happiness is "more often found with those who are most highly cultivated in their mind and in their character and have only a moderate share of external goods, than among those who possess external goods to a useless extent but are deficient in higher qualities." If Aristotle be right in his lesson, drawn from human experience, North Carolina possesses in preëminent degree one of the indispensable prerequisites to happiness—a moderate prosperity. Does she still await the acquisition of that equally valuable asset, the highest intellectual culture?

"Art," says the great Spanish novelist, Palacio-Valdes, "is a necessary outcome of a certain degree of prosperity attained by countries when

man, having overcome the obstacles which were opposed to his subsistence, recovered from his fatigue and enjoyed life quietly." We in the South have overcome the obstacles opposed to material subsistence; we have established the régime of a perfect democracy; have formulated and are striving to realize the millennial dream of universal education. We have passed strenuously into the iron age of economic prosperity, idealistically into the silver age of educational optimism. We stand today at the portals of the golden age of culture. In our time we have seen the ideals of our civilization shift from symbol to symbol. The symbols of the first era were the bench, the bar, and the manor; of the antebellum era, the rostrum and the forum; of the recent era, the school-house and the academy, the college and the university. Is the time far distant when the symbols of our civilization shall become the shrines of culture, of literature, and of art?

Certain modern thinkers have advanced the doctrine that democracy is not the ideal atmosphere for the development of art and the ripening of the fruits of culture. De Tocqueville expressed the opinion that the very structure of a democratic society is unsuited to meditation and inimical to it. In the words of Frederic Harrison, "vast numbers and the passion for equality tend to low averages in thought, in manners, and in public opinion, which the zeal of the devoted minority tends gradually to raise to higher planes of thought and conduct." These pessimistic observations come to us from England and Europe, the centers of culture of world-civilization. But it should be pointed out, in defense of democracy, that these strictures apply almost exclusively to the pioneer phases of democracy. "Then the struggle and pressure for power and for gain, the unending tumult which accompanies the task of economic and political organization, and the practical interpretation of underlying formulas and principles, as well as the novelty of the conditions of life, all unite to compel the attention outward, and to make reflection an impossible luxury." The simple faith in the doctrine of equality tends to foster the delusion that any man is fit for any task, and breeds a certain contempt for special knowledge, refined culture, and expert literary skill. "But after a democratic state of society has established itself, and traditions have become fixed," says Nicholas Murray Butler, "there seems no reason to believe that reflection and meditation will not take and hold the commanding place among civilized men." Intellectual vigor and dominance tread hard upon the heels of wealth and commercial supremacy.

As I study this democracy of ours through the variegated vicissitudes of its evolution, I see in it two supreme streams of tendency which give rich promise for a great literary and cultural awakening. Contrary to

the current conventionalism that the primal instinct of the American is love of money, I am convinced that our legacy from a century of pioneers is a passion for successful self-expression, for efficiency, and for creative conquest.

Again, contrary to convention, I am convinced that the American race is not merely a race of getters and spenders, but the most imaginative of all races, on a grandiose and colossal scale. -That imagination which inspired Sir Walter Raleigh to dispatch expedition after expedition to fabled Roanoke symbolized the soaring imagination of the sturdy Elizabethans of the spacious days of Marlowe, Milton, Spenser, and Shakespeare. In two centuries and a half the sons of these stalwart Englishmen have lost none of their ancient power to dream dreams, to see visions, and to give firm base to their castles in the air.

It was creative imagination which spurred Richard Henderson, Daniel Boone, and George Rogers Clark across the Alleghany Mountains in their arduous labors to win the imperial domain of Kentucky and to secure the Great Northwest to the American nation. It was prophetic imagination which inspired the men of Mecklenburg to speak for American liberty in May, 1775. It was martial imagination which drove the South to fight for constitutional freedom in the supreme crisis of the Republic. It was cosmic imagination which inspired the American engineers in the epic construction of the Panama Canal. It was inventive imagination which inspired Edison to incandescent world-illumination, which enabled the Wright brothers to achieve the conquest of a new realm—the domain of the air. It was the pioneering imagination which sent Peary upon that frozen, trackless journey which ended in the pole. Let but that same colossal and grandiose imagination be dedicated to the service of literature and we shall have upon American soil the supreme imaginative artists of the world.

Fortunate indeed is North Carolina in the possession of the stuff out of which true literature is created, ready to the creative hand of the imaginative artist.

Our history is charged with picturesque beauty and redolent of romantic charm. What themes for the great imaginative artist lie dormant in the story of the birth, baptism, and mystic disappearance of the White Fawn of Roanoke; the romantic fable of the Lost Colony; the arduous voyages to Pamlico of Raleigh's ardent adventurers; the tragic wanderings of De Graffenried and the Swiss Palatines, the social migrations of Huguenots, Moravians, and Scotch Covenanters! What great social dramas lie inchoate in the tragic epic of Reconstruction, the vast *Comédie Humaine* stretching from 1860 until this hour!

Responsive to the art of the biographer are the lives of our leaders—William Richardson Davie, one of the greatest men in an age of great men; the true Leatherstocking, Daniel Boone, whose definitive biography yet remains unwritten; the jurist-pioneer, Richard Henderson, described by one of his contemporaries as “one of the most eccentric geniuses in America, and perhaps in the world”; James Johnston Pettigrew, the most versatile and brilliant figure in our annals; that great tribune of the people, Zebulon Baird Vance; and many other classic exemplars of our native genius.

Before the critic of literature, as well, lies the unaccomplished task of making manifest the contributions of our native authors to imaginative literature. If literature has hitherto held an inferior place in our life, it is in no small measure due to the lack of that “acute and mature criticism” which Henry James posits as the prime requisite for the full appreciation of literature. We await the critical work of highly trained craftsmen to reveal to us these buried treasures, to appreciate their significance and to appraise their worth.

As I look about me and observe the signs of intellectual awakening, the forces setting irresistibly toward the creation of a real literature in our midst, I feel the thrill and the hope of splendid future accomplishment. Societies of every sort are devoting their best energies to restoring the traditions and glories of our native history to public recognition and prestige. The North Carolina Historical Commission, dedicated primarily to all causes in the interest of our history, both local and national, is properly achieving its initial function in collecting and rendering accessible to historical students the crude material out of which history is made.

While numerous forces are thus at work, laying the foundations of a rational pride in our State, what do we find in the domain of letters? Has literature gone hand in hand with history in the intellectual awakening of the hour? Historical investigation, monument building, the marking of historic sites, the writing of historical works, all minister to the glory of history. May I beg, however, here in the capital of this commonwealth, to advance the strange and novel idea that literature is an indispensable part of history. The literature of North Carolina is an unforgettable part of the history of North Carolina. Literature not only *is* history—it *makes* history. Literature is national and international autobiography, since it is “the presentation of civilization in its best products, its most significant moments” sublimated and illuminated with the highest literary brilliancy. If history is in some sense the biography of great men and great women, in a far deeper sense literature is the autobiography of a nation’s life, ideals and destiny.

In history, it is abundantly clear that we are now sectionally self-conscious, and fast becoming nationally self-conscious in the highest and best sense of the term. But it is a fact, as lamentable as it is actual, that little attempt has been made, thus far, to foster or develop the spirit of literature in our midst. This year, thanks to our crescent literary spirit, we make a notable beginning in the presence of our two distinguished guests, Edwin Markham and Walter Page. Until now, barring the fortuitous annual conferring of an honor to literary achievement, conceived by a patriotic woman, this society, which bears so proudly the word *literary* as the co-equal with historical in its title, has paid all its court, not to literature, but to history. I were recreant to all my instincts did I not here lay a lance in rest in behalf of literature. I would sound the clarion call of a living poet—

Come! Let us lay a crazy lance in rest,
And tilt at windmills under the wild sky!
For who would live so petty and unblest
That dare not tilt at something ere he die,
Rather than, screened by safe majority,
Preserve his little life to little ends,
And never raise a rebel battlecry!

I never think of the literature of my native State that I do not recall the classic lines of that famous bard of our sister Carolina, J. Gordon Coogler:

Alas for the South! Her books have grown fewer;
She never was much given to literature.

Blink it as we may, it must be frankly acknowledged that, in cultural accomplishment and literary supremacy, the North Carolina of the past does not fill in the history of American literature anything like the relative space which she covers, geographically, upon the American continent. Few of our native writers have succeeded in waking a responsive chord in the national consciousness, or reached out to the larger recompenses of international renown. Upon one occasion William Gaston, in reply to some defamer, proudly declared that North Carolina was a plain and a slow State, and that he hoped it would be long before she exchanged that reputation for a more equivocal characterization. Gaston here struck the keynote of this old commonwealth—its rugged virtues of democracy and a wise conservatism, its dread of novelty, its scorn of the pretentious, its ineradicable passion for sincerity, so laconically embodied in the State motto, *esse quam videri*. Whilst North Carolina revels in all the homely virtues of a rugged democracy, yet her past literary history, with its record for honorable achievement and sound ability, has been in no sense commensurate with her political and

martial history, which has been national in its significance, continental in its scope.

My high hope for the future of our literary and cultural development finds its firm justification in the striking figures and potent forces which have been at work in our midst during the last decade. Any State in the Union, I affirm, might well be proud of an honor roll which numbers such names, in history and biography, as Hannis Taylor, Battle, Ashe, Alderman, Bassett, Haywood, Cheshire, Raper, Hamilton, Nash, Boyd, Connor, and Poe; nor can I omit mention of the Biographical History of North Carolina, the writings of Dr. Weeks, and his collection of North Caroliniana, which confers distinction upon the State in which it is found, and the Hall of History, fostered by Colonel Olds, whose enlightened unselfishness deserves official recognition at the hands of the State.

In literature as distinguished from history, for the recent past and the present, there is a roll of honor full of distinction and of genuine promise for a greater future—including such names as O. Henry, McNeill, Boner, Christian Reid, Avery, Stockard, Sledd, Alphonso Smith, Mims, Horne, Walter Page, Margaret Busbee Shipp, and Thomas Dixon. Nor should one forget to mention the invaluable *Library of Southern Literature*, the source book for the future study of Southern literary genius; and the *South in the Building of the Nation*, careful *précis* of the multifarious activities of one of the grand divisions of the Republic. Remembering the words of De Tocqueville, who attributed the "singular prosperity and growing strength of the American people" to the superiority of their women, I think of the numerous Woman's Clubs of the State, devoted in part—though not always, I fear, with directed intensiveness—to the study of literature. I think of that admirable publication, national in importance, which has recently celebrated its first decennial of invaluable service as agent of culture, the *South Atlantic Quarterly*; and of a local publication, already of far more than local repute, which has performed with conspicuous ability the indispensable service of acquainting the people of this and other States with the literary activities of our people, the *North Carolina Review*.

In the face of such an efflorescence of literary talent and genius, I can no longer share in the mournful threnody of Coogler. I can, however, make quite luminous the fact that this fine mass of literary accomplishment owes singularly little to incentive furnished by the State itself. It is true that we can legislate history into existence—we have done it here in North Carolina. We can not legislate literature into existence. It must flower up out of a *rootage* of hidden beauty, and from a soil of native appreciation and spontaneous praise. I think that if our

people realized the value of literature, its tremendous power to promote culture, to widen horizons, to advance civilization, we should be all the more ready to give it our immediate and efficient aid. Ibsen and Björnson projected little Norway into the focus of international renown; Sweden was well-nigh forgotten by the world until the advent of Strindberg. Illustrations multiply spontaneously. The novelist is the maker of history in the double sense—that he projects authentic pictures of life already lived, and directs the course of events in accordance with the ideals which he embodies. The poet is the Interpreter and the Seer, whose winged words inspire the soul and become the mainspring of action. We are truly fortunate to have with us this year the man who has done more than any other since Walt Whitman to realize in song the vast democratic ideals and visions of America—Edwin Markham.

To literature, then, let us turn our attention in the next great era of cultural development in our commonwealth. It is fitting that we should celebrate the historical traditions of our State in monuments of marble and of bronze. It is significant of the larger vision of our educational era that two great memorials have been or will be erected to the educational statesmen of our time, the true patriot, Charles McIver, and the high-keyed, idealistic statesman, Charles Aycock. It is noteworthy, however, that thus far our men and women of letters await in vain the recognition of the universities and the colleges, the appreciative attention of the scholar, the enthusiastic approval of the public. Where there is no vision the people perish. If the day is ever to come when the author, the literator, is to share with minister, statesman, educator, warrior, and industrial leader, the reward of merit, the meed of praise, the honor of recognition, and the statue of renown, it must be because we have joined together with enthusiasm and the true spirit of service, to inaugurate the next step demanded in our rapidly evolving civilization—a Crusade for Culture.

In our preoccupation with the literature of our State and of the South, let us not forget the blighting dangers of arrogant sectionalism. The literature of a homogeneous people, the purest section of the Anglo-Saxon race still surviving upon the globe, will inevitably reflect the ideals, the passions, and the life of that people. It is a far cry from sectionalism, with its devastating self-sufficiency, to the healthy virtues of a sane provincialism. But in this era in world civilization I would beg to remind you that the master word which strikes the pitch of the art of the future is Internationalism. If our literature is to represent the best that is thought and felt in the world today it must be surcharged with a sense of human solidarity. Marcus Aurelius said: "The intelligence of the universe is social." We profoundly need that cul-

tural and spiritual illumination which has come in Europe from a Carlyle, an Ibsen and a Meredith, a Taine, a Brandès and a Brunetière.

We shall not acquire a literature truly *autochthonous* in character until we realize the supreme criterion of literature as set forth by Paul Bourget: that there is in every work of art something more than an esthetic effort, that each creation is almost unconsciously a manifestation of all the elements which go to make up the national character, the specific moment of history, the definite climatic condition. We shall not acquire a literature truly *international* in character until we realize the ideal of art as defined by Stendhal, "the analysis of human passions and the artistic expression of those passions." The ideal Southern writer, says that great Southern genius, Joel Chandler Harris, "must be Southern and yet cosmopolitan, he must be intensely local in feeling but utterly unprejudiced and unpartisan as to opinions, tradition and sentiment. Whenever we have a genuine Southern literature it will be American and cosmopolitan as well. Only let it be a work of genius, and it will take all sections by storm."

Let us then dedicate ourselves to the supreme task that lies before us—the realization, through individual effort, communion of spirit and intellectual sympathy, of the republic of letters in the commonwealth of democracy.

County Records as Sources of Local History

PAPER READ BY FRANK NASH BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 4, 1912.

In the whole range of literature there is nothing more sublime than the incomparable vision of Ezekiel—the valley of the dry bones. “And he set me down in the midst of the valley which was full of bones, and caused me to pass by them, round about; and, behold, there were very many in the open valley; and, lo, they were very dry. * * * So I prophesied as I was commanded; and as I prophesied, there was a noise, and behold a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to his bone. And when I beheld, lo, the sinews and flesh came upon them, and the skin covered them above; but there was no breath in them. Then said He unto me, Prophecy unto the wind, prophecy, son of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the Lord God: Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain that they may live. So I prophesied as He commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army.”

A few broad strokes, a few deft touches, here and there, by the divinely inspired poet and prophet, and do we not see the rapidly changing panorama, as it passes before us? First, the valley of desolation, strewn with sun-dried and sun-whitened bones, the hills about it barren and rock bound—no living thing there; then, the blooming flowers, the singing birds, the spring verdure and the exceeding great army.

Though the work of the historian as he deals with county records is very small compared with this divine revivification, yet it is the same in kind. They, these records, are, after all, but valleys of very dry bones, and it is the breathing of the historian's enlightened but restrained imagination upon them that clothes them with sinews and flesh and life. They touch the life and activities of the inhabitants of the country at nearly every point. If one should be an infant, owning property, they show the appointment of a guardian, the nature of his property and how it is managed. When he comes of age, they show this by the return of his guardian and by his assessment for poll tax. The tax lists, after the Revolution, as well as the deed and mortgage books, show whether he is managing his property well, or is a spendthrift. If we wish to know whether he was a slaveholder, the tax lists will show that, and also the number of these slaves between twelve and fifty years of age. If we should wish to know his trade or profession, sometimes the deed books will show that, from his designation as weaver, hatter, smith,

merchant, farmer, doctor, lawyer, planter, or gentleman. If he was an office holder the court records will show that,—overseer of the roads, constable, deputy sheriff, sheriff, justice of the peace, clerk of the court, register of deeds, colonel, captain or lieutenant of militia, whatever he may be, they will show it. His marriage, when and to whom, will be found among the marriage bonds, his crimes on the State dockets and his lawsuits on the civil dockets. The time of his death will be known from the appointment of his administrator, or the probate of his will, and quite frequently the number and names of his children, as well as the amount and character of the property he leaves to them.

Of course this assumes that all the records have been preserved. Unfortunately what from fire, loss, moths or other destructive agencies, there are very few of the older counties which have perfect records. Yet these very blanks stimulate historical investigation, for they should be accounted for in some way. Using Orange County as an illustration of the difficulties here, we have no county court records for the period extending from 1766 to 1777, eleven very active years in the political and economic development of the county. Now McKerall, Register of the county, swore in 1835 (see *Jackson v. Commissioners*, 1 Dev. and Bat. Law, 177), that the records of the county were buried at the coming of Lord Cornwallis in February, 1781, and when they were afterwards recovered many of them were obliterated, and that nothing, to that time, had happened since to cause the destruction of any of these records; yet all the books of administrators' accounts from 1786 to 1800 have been lost. When we ascertain that previous to 1846 no records were kept in the courthouse but remained in the office of each particular officeholder, that loss is also accounted for.

But the view that I have been taking of these records appeals more to the genealogist and biographer than to the historian, and there is a larger view. What part of the county was first settled, and why? What was the character of the settlers, their religion, their educational advantages and their political outlook? What part of the county, after its first settlement, most attracted immigration, and why? Why was the county seat located where it was, and who was principally interested in securing that location? What was the character of the county court, and of its officers, and why and how were those officers appointed? If there were different races among the settlers, what was the contribution of each to the development of the county? What was the daily life of the people, what their sports, what their amusements? What interest did they take in public affairs and how did they manifest it? What crimes were most prevalent among them, and why? Were they litigious or peaceably inclined? From what race came the greatest number of

criminals, and why? *et cetera*. All these questions and many more can be answered by vitalizing the dry bones of county records with a glowing but intelligent imagination, that which is able to reconstruct and realize the past and its actors, and make them live again on the pages of history.

Again, it may be that hid away in these records is some fact, or some evidence of the existence of a fact, which will throw a clear light upon an obscure or controverted point in our history. For instance, take Miss Fries' translation of the Moravian Records and their allusion to the Mecklenburg Declaration, as an illustration, though they are not strictly county records; or, the extract from the Minutes of the Cane Creek Quaker Meeting in the office of the Register of Deeds at Graham, which shows that the Regulators were, in early 1776, identified with the Loyalists in the province; or, the Superior Court records in Orange County during the Regulator trouble, as the "event speaking through its actors," and many other instances too numerous to mention.

Again these records are an invaluable aid to the biographer. There was scarcely a prominent man in the Province or the State who did not figure largely upon them. If he was a lawyer, and most of them were, we can, from them, form some estimate of the extent of his practice and of his weight and influence in the community. If he was a planter we can ascertain how much land he owned and how many slaves. If he was a merchant, the dockets will supply some indication whether he had a good credit and if he was, himself, a harsh collector from his own debtors. If he was a court officer, for instance clerk, his personality is apparent, in a certain sense, in all of his records, etc.

Quite frequently, too, traits of character appear in unexpected places, traits that sometimes cause a modification, if not an alteration, in one's previous estimate of the man.

Again, they are valuable as verifying or disproving tradition. Every student of history knows that, quite often, tradition is but thousand tongued rumor transferred from the past to the present, and, as rumor deals almost wholly with the bizarre, the unusual, the exciting, tradition carries with it much of the scandal and evil speaking of the past. The evil that men are thought to do lives after them, as well as that they do. Remembering this the historian has a difficult problem in determining how much of tradition is false and how much is true. If he has an adequate knowledge of human nature and of the springs of human action, a thorough examination of these county records will often direct him to a correct conclusion. Let me give two illustrations of this. In the first the record refutes the tradition; in the other it sustains it. Tradition charges Edmund Fanning with having become rich from ille-

gal fees extorted from the people while he held a public office. The record shows that he, while he lived in North Carolina, held but one county office—Register of Deeds for Orange County,—and he held that for five years and six months, not doing the work of the office himself but having a deputy who was compensated from the income of the office. We have a record of every deed, or paper of like kind, probated during that period, and assuming that all the deeds probated were registered, which is not a fact, and allowing six shillings for each deed, the charge that was made, the total gross income of the office for five years and six months was a little less than three hundred and eighty-five pounds sterling, and from this his deputy, James Watson, must be paid. So, allowing everything to the purchasing power of money at that day compared with what it is now, it is proven that the tradition is false.

There are many traditions about Colonel William Shepperd, but I will deal with one only. He is said to have been small and thin, but active and wiry as a cat. He was also blind of one eye, and, when occasion demanded it, would fight anything or anybody with zest and eagerness,—generally with entire success. One of his fights was with Jesse Benton, the father of Thomas Hart, in which, it is said, he beat Benton, though he was a much larger man, very severely. Now turning to the records, we find that the two men were, about that time, indicted for an affray, and both were convicted. Benton then brought an action against Shepperd for the assault, and recovered fifty pounds, which he (Benton) afterwards donated to the Hillsboro Academy. Shepperd also took a hand in the further proceedings, had Benton indicted for perjury and sued him for slander, and lost in both instances. So here the tradition is true.

Finally, there is a still broader view to take of these old county records. The counties are, after all, but parts of the State and separated from each other by only imaginary lines. He who is to write the history of the people of North Carolina must be familiar with them if his story is to be true and full. These people, as individuals, in some form or other make their marks, for good or for evil, upon these records, marks which are sometimes pregnant with meaning to the intelligent investigator. Hints there are, here and there, to the skilful interpreter, of their manner of life, of their habit of thought and of their social, economic and political development: and he who is not content to deal only with the surface of things but wishes to get at their heart can not disregard them without being false to his own high calling—as interpreter of the people to the people.

County Records as Sources of Local History

PAPER READ BY CHARLES L. COON, BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 4, 1912.

Mr. Nash's interesting paper shows without doubt that our county records are rich in matter directly valuable to those who are interested in purely local history. But I am interested in these records for larger reasons than those which merely concern the purely local. To me the records of Lincoln, Mecklenburg, Rowan and neighboring counties have been the principal source of the information I possess relating to the educational, industrial, religious, social, and political life of the people of the middle section of the State, especially the German people and their contribution to our North Carolina life. In the county records of that section I find lists of books which individual men and women had in their possession at the time of their death, lists of their household furniture, lists of the articles sold in the stores, articles of agreement entered into between teachers and parents, bills for tuition which indicate the subjects taught in the schools, references to the games and sports of the people, receipted bills showing the payment of the preacher's salary, invaluable data relating to slavery, receipted bills showing the amounts contributed by individuals toward the erection of churches and schoolhouses, data relating to local customs such as having liquor and cakes at funerals, data showing the fees charged by the German preachers for baptisms and funerals, data relating to the manufacturing enterprises carried on in the pioneer days, and data showing the treatment accorded the helpless and delinquent members of the community.

I have often wished I had time to collect all such information now sleeping in our county archives and arrange it for students of our State history. What an interesting story of the evolution of our institutions could be constructed out of such valuable dormant material!

I want to suggest that this society, together with the North Carolina Historical Commission, undertake the work of compiling and publishing the vital parts of the county archives of at least a number of typical counties. I believe that a number of local historians can be found in such counties as Mecklenburg, Lincoln, Rowan and other counties to aid this Society and the Commission. I have in mind the valuable work of Mr. Alfred Nixon, of Lincoln. He has already made much research in the archives of his county, such work as I have in mind. I am certain there are other men and women in other counties who would undertake such a patriotic task. I am also confident that local history societies

could be formed to aid in carrying on such a plan of work. I do not propose that these persons and societies write history; I propose that they collect historical material.

I also suggest that the high school history teachers and pupils be put to work to aid in carrying out this suggestion. I am sure it would be interesting and profitable for the scholars and the teachers to collect documents, copy and arrange records, form collections of historical material, in coöperation with this Society and the Commission. All the schools need is intelligent direction, which I feel sure can be supplied by the proper officers of this body and the Historical Commission. And thus in these present times we shall provide the basis on which some unborn Green or McMaster will be able in the years to come to construct for us the real story of the State.

Nathaniel Macon

AN ADDRESS BY JOSEPHUS DANIELS BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 4, 1912.

Short and simple are the annals of the people's real representatives. Plain—so plain that he who runs may read—is the story of the life of a patriot of the Cincinnatus type, who goes from his plow to save or serve his country, and, when the service is rendered, returns to his toil in the field, without feeling that tilling the soil is less worthy than commanding "listening Senates" or leading cohorts into battle. Your truly great man has a single barrel mind, travels a straight line, reaches proper conclusions, does the work whereunto he is appointed, and seeks no fame through the performance of the duty that is so clear to him that he feels its compulsion, just as surely as the man called to preach has always ringing in his ears the inward monitor, "Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel." Every man's work is born when he comes into the world, and the man whose eyes are open to see his special service—to catch the heavenly vision, so to speak, and is not disobedient thereto—is the man who lives after his body returns to mother earth.

The country has heard much in recent years of the simple life, and not long ago a distinguished Frenchman came to America to study our ways and to commend to us the life that is marked by simplicity. At that time our ears were being so dinned by calls to the strenuous life that few gave heed to the call from the complex to the natural life. "I never had but one thing against Roosevelt," said a distinguished New York journalist to me a few weeks ago, "and that was because he came to New York to urge men to follow the strenuous life when the trouble with Americans is that they are weakening their powers and shortening their lives by trying to do too much in a few hours and a few years." We need an apostle of the simple, not the strenuous life.

I wish to call you back from the strenuous life and the complex problems of a complicated civilization to view a picture of a truly great man whose simple life was so natural and so well ordered that he never thought it exceptional. No man ever yet led the simple life who preached it or prated about it. No more does the brook proclaim "Listen to my song" hurrying to the sea as it "goes on forever," than does the man leading the simple life come to you and say: "Watch me lead the simple life." The Charles Wagner agitation for this needed return to nature was attempted to be propagated amid the orchids and hothouse plants and fruits in a crowded city. It must spring up spontaneously

in an environ of budding trees, singing birds, growing crops—the air redolent with the perfume of the dogwood, the jessamine, or the rhododendron. It is not exotic.

This age conspires against the truly simple and natural life, and to find it in its perfection and proper setting, we must go to the early days of our Republic when men had time to think clearly and to act in accordance with their reflections. I ask you to contemplate the stately simplicity of the most influential man ever born on the soil of North Carolina, “the last of the Romans,” as Thomas Jefferson called Nathaniel Macon. I pronounce it Macon—for that is proper if we judge by the spelling, but for generations, though the spelling of the name was Macon, it was called “Meekins” by his neighbors and friends. Whenever in his home State Mr. Macon was addressed as Macon, he would reply “Meekins, if you please.” His daughters, as they grew to womanhood, did not relish being called “Meekins” when their name spelled Macon, but the inflexible old man always insisted upon it that, inasmuch as his father and grandfather had been called “Meekins” by their neighbors, he must answer to that pronunciation. Hoping to change her father, one of his daughters addressed him at the breakfast table one morning thus: “Mr. Meekins, will you have some beekins?” proffering him some bacon from a Buck Spring larder and asked: “Father, if M-a-c-o-n spells Meekins, doesn’t b-a-c-o-n spell beekins?”

Two theories illustrate perhaps more than any words of mine, Mr. Macon’s belief and devotion to the rural and simple life. The first one was, he did not believe any man ought to have a neighbor near enough to his home for him to hear his dog bark. Land was plentiful in those days and the old English idea was dominant in his thought. The ideal of a man’s home was his castle, and, if he could not have his castle turreted and surrounded by moats, he might in this new country have quietness and privacy, but he believed in neighborliness and thought every man ought to have a neighbor near enough so when his fire went out he might go over to his neighbor and get a chunk of fire to relight the fires of the family hearth.

He had another theory, which has more wisdom in it probably than we of this age, on first blush, may appreciate. He advised young people never to marry outside their own neighborhood or section; he held that the girl ought to marry a boy who was a son of a neighbor or friend and that a man should choose his wife likewise. There is profound philosophy in this. Marriage, to be happy, should be an equal partnership and the persons should know each other, not from a casual acquaintance but in their homes and their surroundings should not be very different. You rarely hear of a divorce or incompatibility when two young people

mate, whose parents are friends and pursue the same avocation and live in somewhat the same style. Most of the infelicities of married life can be traced to inequalities, the lack of knowledge before marriage and the inability for one to adapt himself or herself to the markedly different life of the other.

Mr. Macon had no theory he did not put into practice and he put both of these into practice, building his home at Buck Springs, where he was "monarch of all he surveyed," and when he came to marry, he did not go out of his own county for his wife. There is a very interesting story of his courtship that has been handed down from generation to generation, illustrative of his tenacity and of the spirit of the day. The belle of that section was Miss Hannah Plummer and her admirers were many, but of them all, Mr. Macon and one other whose name I do not recall, were the favorites. It seemed that one was as much esteemed by the fair damsel as the other, and, being unable to obtain from her any decision, upon the occasion when both of them were at her home, the proposition was made that the two suitors should play a game of cards and whichever one should lose the game would retire from the contest, leaving the young lady to the winner. The stake was high and Mr. Macon played and lost, but, as he arose from the table, he turned his eyes upon Hannah and said: "I have lost you fairly but I love you too much to give you up," and he did not give her up and she afterwards became his wife. His single-barrel mind worked in his devotion to his wife and her memory as in everything else, for, although she lived only a few years and he lived to be eighty-seven, he never remarried. His affection was so abiding and eternal that he never considered dividing the affection he had given her with another woman. No man ever has but one master passion—if he loves one woman he never loves but one woman with the intensity that makes their lives indissoluble. He may marry more than once—and I am not opposing second or third marriages. Often the master passion with a man or woman is the second or third marriage rather than the first, but there is only one, and the man to whom it is a reality and his very life for time and eternity, as it was with Macon, can never share it with but one woman.

If it is true that every noble institution is but the lengthened shadow of a great man, it is equally true that every notable epoch in history is the biography of its accepted leader. Only one man in North Carolina, in all its history, has been its undisputed guide and mentor for half a century. That man was Nathaniel Macon, whose wisdom, ripe judgment and freedom from ambition caused men of his generation in every section of the Commonwealth to turn to him for counsel and advice. Men who thought of a public career, whether in Bute or Lincoln coun-

ties, turned to the sage of Buck Springs and asked Macon's approval. He gave his opinion, when asked, frankly and always without any desire except to serve his party *in order that his party might truly serve his country*. In modern parlance, because his word was accepted as final in politics, he would be called a Boss, but there is not on record anywhere that he exercised the influence (which came to him without the seeking) to aid any relative or personal friend by dispensing office. In those days, particularly in Macon's early political experience, it was not easy to secure men of talent to become candidates for Congress in the Jefferson party, and Macon's leadership was rather taxed to see that his party secured acceptable candidates than to try to manipulate primaries for a favorite. The bulk of men trained for public office in that day in North Carolina were Federalists, or men who were not ready to accept unreservedly the truth that the whole people—and nobody but the people—were capable of giving just government. Macon's faith in the people, expressed in his own words, was, "I do not think there is any need to direct the people how to think. I believe the great body of them will always think right if left to themselves." Therefore Macon and other leaders of that party had to induce men to enter public service—a situation that does not now exist in any party! Then the men, following Jefferson in organizing the "Democratic Societies," were mainly farmers who were not ambitious for place, willing to accept only to insure government of and by and for the people. Because of the disinclination of the early North Carolina Republicans, so called, to take office, men of opposing political views were often chosen to office, and sometimes they gave a Federalistic bias in a State that at heart never, in any public convention, had more Federalists than were in the hopeless minority in the Hillsboro Convention that rejected the Federal Constitution. The majority in that body was the bravest and most far seeing and unambitious body of men ever assembled in a convention or legislature in North Carolina. Macon was then a boy at home, getting ready for Princeton, but his brother was there and that action profoundly influenced his life.

What gave Macon this long public career, and caused his people to call him from retirement in two crises in his last days? He was not a man of eloquence, in the ordinary acceptance of that much misunderstood word. He did not speak often and when he spoke it was usually briefly and without the use of a superfluous word. He has left us no prepared address. He never spent any time in rounding his periods. Washington, Jefferson and Franklin occupied less time on the floor in the Continental Congress than any other influential members, and yet that trio had more wisdom and more weight than all the others com-

bined. Macon was of that type of leader whose judgment is so unerring that it is accepted without argument or persuasion. His simple statements were more convincing than the eloquence of other men.

He was not an organizer. He never rounded up his followers or tried to do so. The sort of political organization that obtains today was as foreign to his nature as it was unknown in his time in rural sections. He was never dominated by a convention or primary. He was kept in public office nearly fifty years because the people believed in him, shared his political faith and knew him to be a fixed star. Though he served almost continuously in legislative bodies forty-seven years, before his retirement, he wrote: "I never solicited any man to vote for me, or hinted to him that I wished him to do so, nor did I ever solicit any person to make interest for me to be elected to any place. When elected to the United States Senate did not receive double pay for traveling." What a contrast between the excessive mileage graft of our day! He served in the Continental Army and never accepted a cent and declined the donation of public land voted to soldiers. He declined also to receive his *per diem* as member of the Constitutional Convention of 1835. Indeed, in those and other respects, he was truly, "the last of the Romans."

He was not a great scholar, did not write for the magazines, and was not a master in any learned profession; he had no business connections that gave him wealth or influence. He had no machine, no press agents and used none of the tactics of the demagogue. He had peculiarities and eccentricities that militated against the popular idea of greatness.

What then gave him undisputed leadership? Though educated far above his neighbors, his chief employment unto the day of his death was working with his slaves in his shirt sleeves in his field. He never felt abashed at Princeton in the company of the great Witherspoon who stimulated his ambition. He never felt above his unlettered neighbors or dressed so as to make his constituents feel that they were different. He exemplified in his person the most honored North Carolina virtues—economy, hospitality, industry, integrity, and interest in public affairs. Macon was North Carolina incarnate. Even the Creator, when He would bring salvation to the race, brought light through His Son who, in the flesh, let the dull people see the goodness of God. The South's cause was incarnate in Lee. Macon was the highest product of North Carolina's hopes, North Carolina's faith, North Carolina virtues and provincialisms. He was the voice, the representative, the expression of North Carolina. Graham would have fitted into the life of Pennsylvania, Badger would have shown in Boston, but you could not think of Macon in any other but a North Carolina rural environment. He was bigger than his neighbors only in vision and knowledge. He was the

incarnation of their best, as of their local traits and provincial traditions. And that is why he was the best beloved, the most honored and the first public man the State has produced. The biography of Macon, necessarily brief, is the best story of the fall of Federalism and the rise of Democracy in a State almost wholly Anglo-Saxon in population—of the coming about of the rule of the people that took the place of the rule for the people. He was the apostle of the new spirit of democracy, with a little d, that fought England, not so much because of the tea tax (for we drank “corn licker” and apple brandy instead of tea), but because of the conviction that the people had a right to govern themselves.

The big issue that, in one shape or another, agitated the country after Washington’s administration, was whether the people would garner the harvests their valor had saved. Surrounded by men of learning and character, who distrusted the capacity of the people to rule, the fight of Jefferson and Macon was to resist every encroachment that jeopardized popular government. In the light of that day, Macon’s hostility to certain measures and men can be justified as essential to secure government then to the people. Because some of the measures he opposed were not *per se* injurious, some historians have criticized certain of his votes, which, in another day and another setting, might not have been wise but Macon felt that Jefferson’s election was essential in 1800 to prevent the Republic’s lapsing into a government ruled by class. Later on, when Class and Privilege again would make government an agency of special interests, Macon’s voice was raised for Jackson’s election. He had but one dominating passion in all his public career: to let the people control their government. Every vote that he cast, if seen through the microscope of that master passion, is a consistent one, even if in the light of a later generation we may lack the wisdom to always see that it was influenced by the test of devotion to popular government. But apply his chemical test,—put the vote in the crucible of the hour and the period,—and you will see that, from his point of view, the measures he antagonized had in them the germ of danger to real rule by the people, whose only protection is in upholding the safeguards of the Constitution and in preventing, even in a good measure, the acceptance or approval of some act that may open the door for usurpation and centralization. Macon was so jealous of the people’s rights and the reserved rights of the sovereign States that he gave every doubt to safeguarding them, preferring to go forward slowly than to jeopardizing any right that guaranteed that this government should be the people’s government. He knew the insidious dangers and the pitfalls of Federalistic teaching and practice, and, if at times he seemed overcautious, it will be remembered that he knew the miners and the sappers will outwit the most patriotic leaders who fail to sleep on their arms.

Macon may be said to have received his first inspiration for public service from his brother Gideon, Willie Jones, and his teacher from Princeton, who brought him up in the creed of Jefferson. As student at Princeton he came under the influence of John Witherspoon, statesman and scholar, and, like other influential leaders in the early history of North Carolina, was licked into shape for patriotic service by the atmosphere of patriotism, as well as by the instruction, at that fountain of patriotism and learning. What a light was Princeton, under Witherspoon, and how he influenced the North Carolina folks who, denied college training at home, looked to the light in Jersey to furnish leaders in the struggle for liberty and constitutional government! History is repeating itself, and in this year of grace the country looked again and not in vain, for a vitalizing and inspiring president of Princeton to lead in restoring government to the ideals of Witherspoon and Macon. Our great man quit Princeton for a time to serve in Delaware in the American Army, and, when the war shifted to the South, closed his college course and came home to enlist in his brother's company as a private. It was while in camp on the Yadkin, in the famous retreat from South Carolina, when the news came, by a summons from the Governor to attend, that Macon learned that he had been without his knowledge elected to the Legislature. He told his comrades that he would decline the office and stay in the army. General Greene heard with surprise that a young private soldier had declined office when many were seeking places of ease and safety. Curious to see the strange specimen, Greene sent for young Macon. He was tall, straight as an Indian, and had a bearing of conscious dignity and ease in any presence. "Why is it," asked Greene, "that you have decided to stay here and suffer the privations of a private soldier instead of accepting a seat in the Legislature?" Macon, always a man of few words, made the frank answer, "As a soldier, I have seen the *faces* of the British many times, but I have never seen their *backs*, and I mean to stay here until I have a good view of their *backs*." The army was suffering for the need of the commonest necessities and General Greene persuaded Macon that in the Legislature he might lead in securing better equipment for the soldiers, and at General Greene's request Macon went to the Legislature. He was able to give firsthand knowledge to his fellow legislators of the needs of the army, and he was unceasing in his efforts until the Legislature made provision for the pressing necessities of the patriot soldiers. He served five terms in the State Senate, beginning in 1781, and rose to the rank of leadership and made a State reputation.

The supremacy of the Federalists in the national government was converting the republic into a halfway monarchy that alarmed Jefferson,

Willie Jones, Macon and the bulk of the soldiers, who felt they were losing by legislation and usurpation of reserved powers, much of what they had won by their arms. The call came for opponents of a centralized and privileged national government to make a stand for republican principles. Macon took his seat in the Second Congress on October 28, 1791, and from that day until he resigned as Senator in 1828 he was a consistent, uncompromising, honest and able upholder of the Jefferson doctrines as opposed to everything that was Hamiltonian in theory or in practice. Nothing ever turned him a hair's breadth from his firm conviction that centralized power at Washington menaced the liberty of the people, and that legislation that aided particular individuals or sections would build up giant monopolies that would oppress the masses. We have lived to see and to taste to our sorrow the baleful fruits of the Hamiltonian tree of Centralization and Privilege. They are bitter on our tongues and they have put people's teeth on edge. Macon's prophecy that the Federalistic tree would bring forth fruits after its kind has demonstrated that he was a prophet-statesman, as well as upholder of sound doctrines. After Macon had made a strong speech against what he thought was the Toryism of centralized power, Mr. Jefferson in one of his last letters, wrote him: "I am particularly happy to perceive that you retain health and spirits still manfully to maintain our good old principles of cherishing and fortifying the rights and authorities of the people in opposition to those who fear them, who wish to take all power from them and transfer all to Washington. The latter may call themselves republicans if they please, but the school of Venice and all their principles I call tories; for consolidation is but toryism in disguise, its object being to withdraw their acts as far as possible from the ken of the people. God bless you and preserve you many and long years."

During his term in the House of Congress, Macon was three times chosen Speaker of the House and only absence due to illness caused his retirement from that office—the greatest in America except the Presidency. After his election to the Senate, such was his reputation as a wise and impartial and just presiding officer (he was at his best as moderator of any assembly) that he was chosen President of the Senate. His service as Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee at a time when that Committee was the most important in Congress showed his high standing. He three times refused to leave his seat in Congress to accept portfolios in the Cabinet, and the honor and esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries, from Jefferson to the youngest member of Congress, are conclusive proofs of his greatness and of the large part he played in national affairs of the republic—a part extending for a

longer period than enjoyed by any other North Carolinian. Graham in comprehensive grasp and executive ability was the ablest man the State has furnished in national annals after Macon, and in administrative and executive station better fitted for service in the Cabinet, but not even the immortal Vance could be reckoned as sharing with Macon the long and commanding influence which "the last of the Romans" exerted by his wisdom, consistency and devotion to the principles of representative government.

Governor Swain, who was Superior Court Judge before he became the State's chief executive, relates an incident, which more than any other contemporaneous tradition or fact, conveys to those of this generation the impression that Mr. Macon made upon strangers, and explains the esteem and admiration which he inspired. After Mr. Macon had retired to private life, litigation began in an adjoining county to Warren—an attempt was made to set aside a will. Its validity depended upon Mr. Macon's testimony. Those who wished to break the will knew that it would be necessary to break down his testimony to win their case. The theory was that by reason of his advanced years Mr. Macon's memory was impaired and therefore that his recollection was not to be accepted as accurate. The local counsel advised their clients that it would be necessary to employ the ablest lawyer in the State to cross-examine Mr. Macon if they hoped to show that his memory could not be trusted. At that time, Gavin Hogg, of Raleigh, was reported to be so gifted in cross-examinations of witnesses as to be able to show up any defect of memory or any contradiction of even the best witness. He was retained in the case and his whole employment was based on the hope that he could break the force of Mr. Macon's testimony. To that purpose he attended the court, having been paid the largest fee known then in the practice of that county. Of course, neither Mr. Macon nor any one except the lawyers and their clients knew of Mr. Hogg's appearance for that purpose.

"As I was starting over to the courthouse," said Judge Swain, telling the story to Gen. Matt W. Ransom, who told it to me, "Mr. Hogg joined me and said that he had heard that Mr. Macon was in town, that he had never met him and asked me to introduce him. I looked out and saw Mr. Macon in the courtyard, dressed in homemade clothes like those worn by his neighbors, and told Mr. Hogg to go with me and I would gladly make the introduction. We paused near the stile, and, after introducing the lawyer and the former Senator, I went on into the courthouse to open court. From my seat I could look out of the window, and soon saw that Mr. Macon and Mr. Hogg were engaged in conversation; they seemed so interested in their interview that neither one

of them seemed to move during the four hours of the session of the court and they were still engrossed in conversation as I passed them at the hotel at the dinner recess. Just after supper that night, Mr. Hogg came to me and said: 'Judge, I wish to ask a favor. Will you permit me to come to your room with my local associates and clients for a few minutes after supper? I wish to make a statement at a short conference and wish you to be present.' " "Of course," said Judge Swain, "I consented. Later Mr. Hogg, his associate attorneys and clients came into my room. I welcomed them and saw that Mr. Hogg was laboring under some unusual feeling. In a few minutes he said to his clients and associate counsel: 'Gentlemen, I asked you in here tonight and requested the Judge to be present that I might make you a statement. You know I accepted a retainer of \$500 in this case, with the understanding that I was retained principally to cross-examine Mr. Macon with a view to breaking down his testimony. Here is the \$500. I wish to return it and withdraw from the case.' " "The greatest surprise was manifested by all in the room," said Judge Swain, "and Mr. Hogg went on: 'I had never seen Mr. Macon until this morning. It had been represented to me that his mind was failing and I had often been told that his success in public life was due more to accident than to any greatness. But this morning I have talked with him for four hours, and wish to say that never in my life before have I met any man of his mould and breadth and bigness. If I tried ever so hard I could not make a dent in any testimony he might give; and I would not try—it would seem a cruel wrong and an indignity to even question any statement of that benign and noble man, and I could not do it. You must excuse me. I had no conception that we had so great a philosopher and statesman in the State as Mr. Macon. Never have I spent such a morning or known such a man. The opportunity of this morning's conversation with him has amply repaid me for my trip. Take the money and let me retire from the case.'

"The attorneys and the clients were dumbfounded and I was astonished. None of us could speak for a moment and I waited for the others, being only a witness and a wholly disinterested party. When the local attorneys found their tongues, one of them turned to his clients and said: 'There goes your only hope. The case can not be won if the jury believes Mr. Macon's memory is good—you may as well drop the case.' " The case was dropped, Mr. Hogg returned to Raleigh, strengthened by communing with the simple old statesman, and Judge Swain told the story years after to Senator Ransom as the most remarkable case he had come across in history or in his experience of the impression made by one man upon another.

And yet, although this suncrowned man, who towered as the Colossus of this good State, and for half a century was its political mentor and the idol of the people, we have for some years had a school of teachers and writers and historians in North Carolina who have sought to teach the younger generations that old Nat Macon was little more than a country squire of a moderator size. The inception of this misapprehension of his true greatness came in his own lifetime, when he made every Federalist, who denied the right of the people to rule, bite the dust; and it has been handed down until you will find many people in North Carolina, when you speak of him as his contemporaries measured him, who have no conception of his true greatness. The men who have tried to write down Macon have not been satisfied in their determination to blot out many of the brightest pages in the history of North Carolina. I wish here tonight to enter my solemn protest against the iconoclastic spirit, posing under the name of "historical research," that has sought to traduce the memory of Herman Husbands and the patriotic band of Regulators who, long before any other, were willing to risk their lives for liberty. In a crude and unorganized way they showed that they were the John the Baptists of the Revolutionary War. It is a crime to deny to those men the high place they have always held in our history without dispute until recently. It is cruel, no matter how honest the efforts, and unjust to all our history to try to brand the men who bore valiant part in that early struggle for liberty and justice as lawless marauders, when, in truth, they were the pioneers of patriotism.

Moreover, I wish to enter my earnest protest against the organized propaganda that would make us go to Independence Square in Charlotte and lay profane hands upon the monument erected there to commemorate the patriotism of the Signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. There is no page in the history of North Carolina that glows with more ardor and reflects greater glory upon the Commonwealth than the gathering in that little town on the 20th of May, 1775, of John McKnitt Alexander and other plain farmers, who had the courage, when others were serving the King, to declare their independence, and yet, we are asked to tear out this glorious date from the flag of North Carolina and seek to write "Imposter" upon the monument of every man who testified that he signed that Declaration.

The innovators do not stop at tearing down these two glorious historical achievements. They go further and they demand that we shall revise our opinion of Tyron, whom his contemporaries among the patriots of North Carolina declared to be a tyrant, and put him on a pedestal as a patriot and to place him in our Hall of Fame. Some of them go even a step further and wish to blot out the Battle of Alamance. It

took Judge Schenck the best part of his mature life to restore the fame of the men who fought at Guilford Court House.

We have no knowledge, yet, of this propaganda attempting to repudiate the Edenton Tea Party, but I wake up every morning and pick up the paper with fear unless a descendant of some beautiful woman who declined an invitation to the tea party fearing she might offend the King, has procured or manufactured evidence seeking to prove that, instead, of being a patriotic gathering, it was an accidental gathering of old ladies who were knitting stockings to send to the children of Booriboola Ghu, and unless we can have some respect for the traditions of the elders and the well founded facts of history (which these modern iconoclasts seem to be determined shall be destroyed) I am fearful that some so called historian, itching for notoriety, will go to England and return with some documents trying to show that this aforesaid Tory ancestor wrote a letter from Wilmington at that time to the effect that, instead of being a patriotic tea party, the men who threw the tea overboard were a lot of drunken ruffians seek nothing but loot. I tell you, gentlemen of the Historical Commission, the people of North Carolina expect you to preserve the true history of the State and I warn you that they will not approve this modern spirit of iconoclasm. If you do not put your heel on this propaganda you invite the anathema of the Almighty who thundered, "Remove not the ancient landmarks which the fathers have set."

Macon never held any but a legislative office and had declined all others. These positions gave him much time at home, so that, during all the years of his public life he was able to carry on his farming operations, direct the work of his slaves and labor with them himself in the fields in the week and worship with them on the Sabbath. No Lord's day ever passed on his farm when his slaves were not gathered together to hear their humane master read the Scripture to them. Intensely Southern and a firm believer in the doctrines of the State's right as interpreted by his party leaders, Macon did not like slavery. He declared in Congress upon one occasion: "Slavery is a lamentable thing, and I should be glad if there were not an African in this country." But he declared he saw no way of getting rid of "the curse of slavery."

From 1828 until he died, Macon lived quietly at his home, which was the Mecca of North Carolina, many distinguished men from all parts of the country stopping to see the great man whose sound judgment and patriotism was undimmed until the day of his death, in 1837. After his retirement there came two crises in his State when his friends and party associates felt the need of his wisdom and leadership—one the Constitutional Convention in 1835, to which he was elected and was unanimously

chosen President. The most important act of that body was repealing the Constitutional prohibition of Catholics holding office in North Carolina. Mr. Macon made a brief speech in favor of its repeal, breathing the largest view of religious liberty, and in the course of his speech stating that he himself, in religious preference, was "of the Baptist persuasion." The other crisis was in 1836 when he consented to be a Van Buren presidential elector because that service seemed essential to secure the electoral vote of his State to the Democratic candidate for President. In the August election, the Whigs had elected their candidate for Governor, and the Democrats felt that nothing but the prestige of Macon's name as elector would enable Van Buren to carry the State. Glorious old partisan that he was, Macon consented and wrote: "If the wisest man living had predicted that Jackson would have done half the good things he has for the people, no one would have believed him. His doings are known to everybody and need not be repeated. He was manfully abused, because France would not execute the treaty, but the people have manfully supported him and will, I hope, elect a successor who will be like him." Macon's name was a tower of strength to the Democratic party in all the South. His influence turned the tide in North Carolina, and, though the Whigs elected their Governor in August by more than four thousand majority, Van Buren carried the State by more than five thousand. Mr. Macon's last official act was as president of the electoral college that cast its vote for Van Buren.

"He had now reached the age of seventy years, the age in his mature life he had fixed upon as a period of his retirement from public life. More than once he had said to his close friends in the words of the Psalmist: 'The days of our years are three score years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be four score years, yet is their strength labor and sorrow, for it is soon cut off and we fly away.' He was true to all his purposes, he was true to his resolve in this, and executed it with a quietude and indifference of an ordinary transaction. He was in the middle of a third senatorial term, and in the full possession of all his faculties of mind and body, but his time for retirement had come—the time fixed by himself, but fixed upon conviction and for well considered reasons, and as inexorable to him as if fixed by fate. All of his friends urged him to remain until the end of his term, and they insisted that his mind was as good as ever. He answered that it was good enough to let him know that he ought to quit office before his mind quit him and that he did not mean to risk the fate of the Archbishop of Grenada. He resigned his senatorial honors as he had worn them—meekly, unostentatiously, in a letter of thanks and gratitude to the General Assembly of his State, and gave to repose at home that interval of thought and

quietude which every wise man would wish to place between the turmoil of strife and the stillness of eternity. He had nine years of tranquil enjoyment and died without pain or suffering on June 29, 1837—characteristic in death as in life. It was eight o'clock in the morning when he felt that the supreme hour had come. He shaved himself, had himself fully dressed with his habitual neatness, walked into the room and lay upon the bed, by turns conversing kindly with those who were about him, and showing by his conduct that he was ready and waiting, but hurrying nothing. He sent for his physician, paid him and gave directions for his burial. It was the death of Socrates all but the hemlock, and in that full faith of which the Grecian sage had only a glimmering."

The poet had some such noble man as Nathaniel Macon in mind when he wrote these lines:

"As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form
Swells from the vale and midway leaves the storm,
That round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on his head."

America and the South as a Field for New Poetry

ADDRESS BY EDWIN MARKHAM BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 4, 1912.

The South can claim to have given to America the national poet with the most original and distinctive note—Edgar Allan Poe. Poe brought to his work the strictest *credenda* known to the poetic art. He insisted that the poet must be looked on as the creator of beauty—yes, that he must bring us a wilder beauty than earth supplies. He fought the heresy of the didactic; for he well knew that in mere preachment we get only a half truth. He knew that only when truth is added to beauty do we get the perfect orb. He taught us that poetry should aspire forever toward that supernal loveliness we call the Ideal.

The very antithesis appeared in the North in the shaggy personality of Walt Whitman. Here was a man with a stentorian voice, a mastodon step. He swept aside the old criteria of the poet's art; he did not seek for the strange beauty of the ineffable, nor for the delicate and reticent beauty of earth. And yet in his way he was also a nourishing magnetic spirit of poesy—albeit, he lacked a feeling for the restraints that belong to the higher walks of both the muses and the graces of existence. Nevertheless, he does revive our interest in the common way and the common man. He flouted the past with its tradition; for he came to voice "these immediate days of current America."

Here are two poets standing at the opposite foci of the human ellipse. One is seeking for weird beauty in the distant and the dead: the other is seeking for robust emotion in the humanity that surges around us. Poe is aspiration, Whitman is sympathy. The poetry of Poe rises toward the Supernal Loveliness: the poetry of Whitman reaches outward toward the familiar and the human. But neither Poe of the South nor Whitman of the North gave us the whole gospel of poesy.

Poe was too wholly detached from the common and human life, too pallid a pursuer of the fugitive, the irrecoverable joys, the pathos of love and death. Whitman, on the other hand, was too wholly immersed in the prosaic, familiar present. He had too much of the mere sweat and dust of the common road.

The New Poetry must include in her orb both of these hemispheres of the Muse.

It is charged that our America reeks with materialism, that she is breast deep in the mire of the market place, that she knows nothing but the cynical philosophy of worldly success.

There is, alas, too much truth in this; and it is a fact that mere selfish politics and money making tend to send a chill upon the artistic spirit of our people. It is true that the high music of Apollo's lyre is easily drowned by the callous click of the cash register.

Yet there is a divine side to politics and to money making. It is right to upraise and maintain the pillars of the State, for the State is the organ of the social safety. It is also right to make money, for money can procure for us the social and material resources for living a complete life.

And here comes in the function of the poet. It is the poet's high mission to caution us that the forum and the market place must be lifted above the level of the wolf's den and the swine's trough. It is his mission to rouse men to righteousness, to proclaim that every right should be wedded to a duty. If at times the poet sounds the soft pipings of peace, there are other times when he must sound the loud clarion of revolt. In all these ways, the poet is the heavensent seer, who comes to counsel and command, comes ordained to throw upon these concerns of time a light from the eternal world.

So it is that the poet, dwelling on exalted heights, comes to judge the world as it is, in the light of the world as it ought to be; comes to infuse into the hearts of men the lofty courage of life; to create for their consolation and joy that nobler, "wilder beauty than earth supplies." He gives us his "Tintern Abbey," his "Oberman Once More," his "Rabbi Ben Ezra," his "Men of England," his "Locksley Hall," his "Parable," his "Eve of Revolution,"—poems that face the tragic facts of life, and help to build up the hope of the world. The poet is forever chastening our souls with a strange beauty, forever disturbing our easy optimism with a bugle of battle. He sends a noble discontent—a divine impatience—the impatience of the acorn to be an oak. Into the world of the Imperfect, he sends not peace but a sword—a sword bathed in heaven. He points away from the selfish, ephemeral concerns, to the eternal concerns; thunders his averments that to be something is more than to get something; that to make a life is more than to make a living; that to be just, to be brotherly, are the highest interests of practical men.

But where can the poet find the stuff of song? Does he need a great personage, a great spectacle, a great event? No; even simple things are great to the cunning listener and the far looker. There is poetry in the commonplace and nearby, if one goes deep enough to find it. The lines of all things, seen under the revealing light of the imagination, run out into infinite orbits. All things somewhere touch infinity. To the seer no life is common or empty. To him the meanest life may come freighted with tragedy, with pathos, with beauty. The broken figure

of an old woman leaning wearily against a wall may carry more import to the poet's eye than the pageant of a dead queen borne in purple to her sepulcher. To the poet the world is forever young, forever strange, forever springing up out of the abyss of wonder and mystery and silence. It is necessary only to look steadily, with the eyes of the heart, at any thing, for that thing to grow significant and impressive.

It all depends upon the soul that surveys. —The genius, the man with the seeing eye, finds field for his powers in any nation, any epoch. The shallow mind is always waiting for a great crisis upon which to spend itself,—the woes of Thebes or Pelops' line. The discerning man sees the great in the little, the uncommon in the commonplace, the abiding in the fugitive. To Keats a moldered urn calls up an hour of buried Hellas to live immortal in the memory of man. To Blake a fly upon a leaf touches him with kindling sympathy and sends upon his heart a vision of the oneness and the wonder of all life. To Lowell the aimless circling of a goldfish in a globe calls forth a lyric scripture on the meaning and the mystery of existence.

While it is true that the material of the poet is everywhere, still, in our America, there is an especial affluence of the stuff for a noble poetry.

The field, however, is not wholly virgin; a stray sickle, from time to time, has already touched its edges, from the sterile hour of Mistress Anne Bradstreet down to the greating hour of Edith Thomas and Anna Hempstead Branch. We are clear of that old, weary time of artificial, secondhand, ready made landscape, warmed-over emotion, and sucked-out philosophy. Our poets no longer walk by the Merrimac and the Charles to gather English primroses and hawthorn, or to listen to Philomel and the skylark! At last our poets have discovered America! The rhodora, the dandelion, the wild poppy, now glow through their meters; the bluebird, the bobolink, the mockingbird, now carol through their rhymes.

But not only have we flower and bird to tempt the poet's heart, but we have also beauties and glories, myriad and marvelous,—mountains, rivers, lakes, forests stretching a thousand leagues away,—America,—home! The mere vastness of our land appeals to the imaginative passion. All the spaces and faces of our country, like the ideas of our people, have the large outline, the limitless sweep.

Our Niagaras, our Sierras, our Yosemite, our Inland Seas, our tragic deserts, our starless swamps, the tremendous journey of our Mississippi, the eternal thunder of our Oregon, the illimitable stretches of our prairies, the twilight silence of our primeval forests—from these must come our "As You like It," our "Ode to the Skylark," our "Sunrise Hymn to Chamouni." And not all the leagues of Europe, from Land's

End to the Golden Horn; not all the leagues of Asia, from Ararat to Fujiyama, afford so white a field for a harvest of the Muses.

Of course, we are not bereft of poets who have seen some of these larger grandeurs of our land and framed them into song. We have Emerson's "Monadnock," Lanier's "Marshes of Glynn." Hamlin Garland has sung the prairies, Joaquin Miller, the sundown seas. But there are yet long reaches of land and water and sky untouched by song. They await the hour when some poet, with a splendid word, shall give them to man and to immortal memory.

It is the poets of the Old World who have cast the color of romance upon the yellow Tiber, the blue Danube, the brooks of Vallombrosa; who have irradiated the dark pines of Pelion and Ossa; and given to the Ægean a lyric fame that shall endure—

"Till glory and song and story and all things cease."

It is the poet who has given immortality to the towers of Notre Dame, the arches of the Colosseum, the dungeons of Chillon. And it is the poet who must give to the beloved paths and places of America a fadeless charm, a fair eternity.

Our people, too, are unique and picturesque, made of the mixings of all the tribes of men. As they will gather at the last trump in the Valley of Jehosaphat, so they are gathered here,—Caucasian, Malay, African, Mongolian; men from Moses's land, Homer's land, Dante's land, Goethe's land; from the land of Omar, of Cervantes, of Hugo, of Ibsen, of Turgenieff.

This blending of many nations into one new nation gives a fresh impulse to literature, a new spirit to poetry. From this massing and adjusting and inbrothering, spring new activities and audacities of the soul, new purposes, new perils. Out of this melting pot of the race, with its traditions, its superstitions, its nobilities, its vulgarities, its seething potentialities of good and evil, must come an organic unity—a new type of man. And it is the flame and hammer of imagination that must accomplish this mighty mixing and molding. Through the power of imagination God made and poised the worlds. Through the power of it men and nations are banded and held in social unities. It was imagination that shaped and held together the stupendous dream of the Middle Ages,—the Holy Roman Empire. It was imagination, fired by the poet and fed by tradition, that fused England into a solid wall that has held against the havoc of time for nearly a thousand years. It is the imagination that must shape the plaster clay of our commonwealth into a stuff that will endure the chances and changes of time.

Great then is the opportunity—shall I say the duty?—of the poet of

democracy. The old nations are partly held in solidarity by the iron bands of custom and heredity, by the pressure of ages. But in the Old World sense, we have no custom, no heredity. We must be held in oneness by the power of the idea,—the idea of progress and fraternity. Let the American poet hold aloft that great idea till we shall feel that we are not only compatriots, but also brothers; that we are conscripts of one heroic hope, comrades of one destiny.

It will be a new poetry. And yet we have already heard the prelude of its loud and lofty chords. We have heard its beginning in Hood's "Song of the Shirt," and in Mrs. Browning's "Cry of the Children." We have heard it, too, in a larger volume and splendor in Edward Carpenter's "Towards Democracy," and in Swinburne's "Songs Before Sunrise." Also in the cries of protest and prophecy in the pages of the immortal Shelley.

And in our own land, the opening notes of the new song of humanity are heard sounding from the poems of Lowell and Lanier; as well as from some of the younger and later singers in our choir.

And in all this work we find the note of hope, an echo of the buoyant faith of our people. This is the mood of all high creative work. America goes forth to the future with step of power and dawn-illuminated face. She goes forth like another Winged Victory treading the Fates under her swift feet. Her brow is lit with dreams that dare the towers of the Impossible.

America furnishes to the poet the inspiration of great achievement. She has won high place in the constellations of nations; she has snatched secret powers from the sphere of nature; she is on her way to vast victories in the markets of the world. It is to the poet that we must look for an interpretation of the glories of our stronger Carthage, our greater Tyre. It is he who will throw upon our Patent Office reports, our census returns, our ledger accounts, and our enlarging maps, some light from the ideal; who will speak the spiritual significance of events. It is he who, in the perils of our prosperity, must keep alive in the people a faith in the unworldly enterprise, "the unprofitable risk."

Our America lacks one source of poetry,—a shadowy antiquity; the shrines, ruins, and memories of a long-reaching, fateful, and pathetic past.

As a nation we are only in the youth of things. It was but yesterday, as run the calends of time, that we set our adventurous faces toward this western wilderness. It was but yesterday that the little brigs of England folded weary wings at Plymouth Rock, and the caravels of Spain went blundering up the coast of the Californias. Brief as our past is, it nevertheless holds men and events worthy of song and story. Thus far

we have an epic for the Indian, a genial rhyme for the Yankee, a pastoral for the Puritan, a dithyrambic for the "*Camerado*." But there wait unsung many an idyl and many an epic of the home making of the Pioneer, of the gold seeking of the Argonaut, of the passing of the Spaniard, of the chaining and the unchaining of the African.

As for our border balladry, we have hardly heard only the first notes of it. And yet a nation without its balladry is like a dawn without its morning star. Still we have a wide and varied field for such lyric adventures. We have the weird witchcraft era of New England; the homely Dutch period of New Amsterdam; the vivid and earnest epoch of the Huguenot fugitives; the courtly cycle of the Tidewater Cavaliers of Virginia; the perilous explorings of the French about the Great Lakes; the idyllic pastoral occupation of the Spanish Missions of the Far West; the romantic career of the Creole in old Louisiana.

These touch a few of the high lights of the past, peoples and events rich in possibility for the poet. But the present also lifts its beckoning hand to the poet. Some minstrel must come to sing the battle of man with the mysterious and colossal forests of the great Northwest—to sing of the gigantic spectacle of seedtime and harvest in our Middle West, where enormous wheat fields go billowing over States as large as kingdoms,—to sing of the tragic mystery of our blanched and barren deserts of far Arizona,—to sing of the immemorial struggle of the fisherfolk of New England who go out to dare the dangers of wind and wave—of the snowy cotton fields that run as white foam to meet the dancing foam of the Gulf.

But more than this, there waits for the poet the great spectacle of the modern workers in their toils and battles.

As the years go on, the old types of the hero—the soldier and the explorer—will fade into the background, and the workingman, upon whom depends our safety and our comfort, will come more and more into the front of the world's affairs. We are all beginning to see that the soldier should be given less work; and we all know that the explorer's work is nearly done; only the poles are left for him to seek. So the trusted man who works is becoming the chief power in civilization, the foremost figure in our new romance of industry. He is harnessing our rivers; he is caving our mountains; he is bridging our canyons; he is making our deserts to blossom; he is building and beautifying our cities.

The Southerners, the most daring leaders of American thought in the time of the Revolution, went back after the war to their quiet plantations, their classic libraries, their courtly leisure with their troops of slaves. They resumed the old life scarce touched by the currents of trade and commerce that were seething over the rest of the world. The

unequal conditions of life and labor shut them more and more into the past.

It was not the age of letters in the South. Literature was only a chance diversion, no one thought of it as a profession. The newer literature sifted slowly among the people. Literary magazines died out one by one. Story tellers worked over old situations and old conventions, taking little account of the things at hand, the problems of the day.

But the South in its new germinal burst of the spirit has begun, in its friction, to utter itself in a sort of *vita nuovo*. Yet still its forces are greater than literature. Craddock, Glasgow, Thomas Nelson Page, James Lane Allen, Mrs. Corra Harris,—each is an artist in his or her degree and touches the large elemental things, yet keeps also the pulse of the near and the familiar.

The South has a peculiar treasure in its rich store of material waiting to be turned into literature. It has preserved the flavor of its past as no other region of this country has. There is an atmosphere about the South that is peculiarly its own. Owen Wister catches it in *Lady Baltimore*; Mrs. Pryor and Marion Harland in biography have reflected this gracious and spacious air. From this fund of history and memory writers of the future will draw phases of morals and manners, of struggles and passions, of ardors, agonies, expiations of all the human experiences.

Out of the rich soil of the past will spring up the literature of a newer and richer humanity, for the South has again caught step with the world spirit.

In the past the workers toiled in obscurity with little recognition; but now they are beginning to take their honorable place in the world's eye. Indeed they are to help mightily in molding our nation nearer and nearer to the ideals of justice and brotherhood. The future is in their strong hands—in the hands of the trusted workers who put mind into muscle and heart into handiwork.

But, if America has no spacious past, she has a spacious future. She has a Messianic mission to the nations of the earth. What poet's heart can fail to believe that she has been reserved to these later ages by the Higher Power for some vast purpose, some transcendent manifestation? Here certainly is to be worked out the highest freedom the world has ever known.

So democracy comes as the supreme fact of the century. The rise of the democratic spirit has sent new impulses, new accents on all art. We are beginning to see the significance in the common and the human. The sabot is pushing aside the purled shoe; the blouse is obscuring the velvet mantle.

To the life of the people, then, the life of the toiling millions, art is beginning to look for a new inspiration, a new courage, a new joy. Painters have caught its homely tragedy. Poets are realizing its terrible pathos, its tender beauty, its epical force. And, with this new art ideal, a new economic ideal is beginning to demand a new world, wherein I shall ask nothing for myself or my child that all others can not have on equal terms. Man is progressing, but each step of his progress seems only to reveal new rights to demand and new freedom to conquer. We have achieved religious and political freedom, but now we are in the beginnings of a struggle for industrial freedom,—the greatest struggle that has yet come upon civilization. It will not be the conquest of princes but the conquest of poverties. But the realization of this new liberty will demand the sinews of heroes, the wisdom of sages, the passion of poets. The Crusades, the Christianization of Europe, the emancipation of chattel slaves in two worlds,—all the moral adventures of the past are dwarfed in the presence of this new ideal that now begins to press upon the conscience of nations. Into this world-struggle the poet of America will be drawn for a new and prophetic utterance.

What is the meaning of it all? It means that the old epic was "Arms and the man"; but that the new epic is "Tools and the Man." It means that the Book of Kings is closed and the Book of the People is opening.

EXERCISES IN CONNECTION
WITH THE
PRESENTATION TO THE STATE
BY THE
North Carolina Historical Commission
OF A BUST
OF
JOHN MOTLEY MOREHEAD

**Hall of the House of Representatives,
December 4, 1912**

Introductory Note

On December 4, 1912, in the Hall of the House of Representatives and in the rotunda of the State Capitol, the North Carolina Historical Commission presented to the State a handsome marble bust of John Motley Morehead, Governor of North Carolina, 1840-1844. The bust was a donation to the Commission from Governor Morehead's grandsons, John Motley Morehead and J. Lindsay Patterson, and was executed by the wellknown sculptor, Frederick Wellington Ruckstuhl. The exercises in connection with the presentation consisted of an address on "John Motley Morehead: Architect and Builder of Public Works," by R. D. W. Connor; the Address of Presentation, by Hon. J. Bryan Grimes, Chairman of the North Carolina Historical Commission; and the Address of Acceptance on behalf of the Governor, by Hon. J. Y. Joyner, Superintendent of Public Instruction.

John Motley Morehead: Architect and Builder of Public Works¹

By R. D. W. CONNOR.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DECEMBER 4, 1912, UPON THE PRESENTATION TO THE STATE OF A BUST OF GOVERNOR MOREHEAD BY THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

Along the line of the North Carolina Railroad, from its eastern terminus at Goldsboro to its western terminus at Charlotte, lie eleven counties embracing six thousand square miles of territory, now one of the most prosperous and productive regions in North Carolina. During the decade from 1840 to 1850, perhaps no other State on the entire Atlantic seaboard could have exhibited a stretch of country of equal area which presented to the patriotic citizen so discouraging a prospect or so hopeless an outlook. Such a citizen traversing this region would have found public roads and methods of travel and transportation that were primitive when George III claimed the allegiance of the American colonies. Delays, inconveniences, and discomforts were the least of the evils that beset the traveler who entrusted life and limbs to the public conveyances of that period.² The cost of transportation was so great that the profits of one half the planters' crops were consumed in getting the other half to market, and hundreds of them found it profitless to pro-

¹John Motley Morehead was born in Pittsylvania County, Virginia, July 4, 1796, son of John Morehead and Obedience Motley. In 1798 his parents moved to Rockingham County, North Carolina, where John grew to manhood. He was prepared for college partly under the private instruction of Thomas Settle and partly at the Academy of Dr. David Caldwell, near Greensboro. He afterwards entered the University of North Carolina, from which he was graduated in 1817. In his junior year he was appointed a tutor in the University. From 1823 to 1866 he served on the Board of Trustees, and in 1849 was President of the Alumni Association. Morehead was the sixth alumnus of the University to become Governor of North Carolina. After his graduation from the University he studied law under Archibald D. Murphey. In 1819, receiving his license to practice, he settled at Wentworth, county seat of Rockingham County, where he lived until his marriage to Miss Ann Eliza Lindsay, eldest daughter of Col. Robert Lindsay, of Guilford County. He removed to Greensboro which continued to be his home during the rest of his life.

²"The road [from Weldon to Gaston] was as bad as anything, under the name of a road, can be conceived to be. Whenever the adjoining swamps, fallen trees, stumps, and plantation fences would admit of it, the coach was driven, with a great deal of dexterity, out of the road. When the wheels sunk in the mud, below the hubs, we were sometimes requested to get out and walk. An upset seemed every moment inevitable. At length, it came."—Frederick Law Olmsted. "A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States," 1853-1854. Vol. I, page 348. "From personal observations, I have found the roads leading from Raleigh westward, for the distance of fifty or sixty miles, * * * decidedly the worst in the State."—Governor Morehead's message to the Legislature of 1842. Journal of the General Assembly, page 409.

duce more than their own families could use.³ In 1853 a traveler, within thirty miles of the State Capitol, saw "three thousand barrels of an article worth a dollar and a half a barrel in New York, thrown away, a mere heap of useless offal, because it would cost more to transport it than it would be worth."⁴

Under such conditions there could be, of course, no commerce, and without commerce no markets. Such commerce as the produce of the fertile valleys and plateaux of the Piedmont section created found its way to the markets of Virginia and South Carolina; and among the people who dwelt west of Greensboro, declared Governor Morehead in 1842, "Cheraw, Camden, Columbia, * * * Augusta, and Charleston are much more familiarly known than even Fayetteville and Raleigh."⁵ In all the region from Goldsboro to Charlotte, Raleigh, then a straggling country village, was the only town of sufficient importance to be noted in the United States census of 1850. This section, now the heart of the manufacturing region of the South, reported to the census takers of that year no other manufactures than a handful of "homemade" articles valued at \$396,473. The social and labor systems upon which the civilization of the State was founded confined the energies of the people almost exclusively to agriculture, yet their farming operations were so crude and unproductive that a traveler, commenting on the agriculture in the vicinity of Raleigh, found it "a mystery how a town of 2,500 inhabitants can obtain sufficient supplies from it to exist."⁶ This was not the view merely of an unsympathetic stranger. Calvin H. Wiley, attempting to arouse his fellow members of the Legislature of 1852 from their indifference and lethargy, after referring to the "magnificent capitol" in which they sat, exclaimed, "But what is the view from these porticoes, and what do we see as we travel hither? Wasted fields and decaying tenements; long stretches of silent desolation with here and there a rudely cultivated farm and a tottering barn."⁷

But more forcible than any other evidence, because incontrovertible, is the testimony of the United States census. The census reports of 1840 show that nearly one-third of the adult white population of the State could neither read nor write. The population of the State was at

³Speaking of the building of a turnpike, from Raleigh westward, Governor Morehead in his message of 1842, said: "Labor can not be difficult to obtain in a region now growing cotton at six cents per pound, corn at one dollar per barrel, and wheat so low that it takes one half to transport the other to market."—*Journals of the Legislature 1842-'43*, page 411. "A farmer told me that he considered twenty-five bushels of corn a large crop, and that he generally got as much as fifteen. He said that no money was to be got by raising corn, and very few farmers here [about ten miles from Raleigh] 'made' any more than they needed for their own force. It cost too much to get it to market."—Olmsted, "Seaboard Slave States," Vol. I, page 358.

⁴Olmsted: *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States. 1853-1854. Vol. I*, page 369.

⁵Annual Message. *Legislative Journals, 1842-'43*, page 409.

⁶Olmsted.

⁷Speech in favor of his bill to appoint a State Superintendent of Common Schools.

a standstill. From 1830 to 1840, thirty-two of the sixty-eight counties of North Carolina lost in population, while the increase in the State as a whole was less than two and a half per cent.⁸ The best blood of North Carolina, refusing to remain at home and stagnate, was flowing in a steady stream into the vast and fertile regions of the South and West; and that brain and energy which should have been utilized in developing the resources of North Carolina was being forced to seek an outlet in other regions where it went to lay the foundations of Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, of Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana. Dr. Wiley was guilty of no exaggeration when he declared that North Carolina had "long been regarded by her own citizens as a mere nursery to grow up in"; that the State had become a great camping ground on which the inhabitants were merely tenanted for a while; and that thousands were annually seeking homes elsewhere whose sacrifices in moving would have paid for twenty years their share of taxation sufficient to give to North Carolina all the fancied advantages of those regions whither they went to be taxed with disease and suffering. The melancholy sign "For Sale" seemed plowed in deep black characters over the whole State, and the State flag which floated over the Capitol was jestingly called by our neighbors of Virginia and South Carolina an auctioneer's sign. "The ruinous effects," said he, "are eloquently recorded in deserted farms, in wide wastes of guttered sedgefields, in neglected resources, in the absence of improvements, and in the hardships, sacrifices and sorrows of constant emigration."

Such was the view which Central North Carolina presented to the keen eyes of John M. Morehead when, in the closing days of 1840, he journeyed from Greensboro to Raleigh to assume his duties and responsibilities as Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth. As desolate as the prospect was, however, Morehead's foresight saw in it not a little to give him courage. He must have realized that North Carolina was standing at the turn of the road and that much depended on the wisdom and prudence with which he himself directed her choice of future routes. Four years before a new Constitution, profoundly affecting the political life of the State, had gone into operation, from which Morehead, and other leaders who thought as he did, had prophesied great results for the upbuilding of the State. This new Constitution had paved the way for the work of a small group of constructive statesmen, of whom Morehead was now the chosen leader, who were destined to direct and lead the public thought of North Carolina during the quarter century from 1835 to 1860.

Among these men two distinct types of genius were represented. On

⁸Population in 1830, 737,987; in 1840, 753,409.

the one hand there were the dreamers,—men who had the power of vision to see what the future held in store for their country, who wrote and spoke forcibly of what they foresaw, but lacked the power to convince men of the practicability of their visions. On the other hand there were the so called practical men,—men who knew well enough how to construct what other men had planned, but lacked the power of vision necessary to see beyond the common everyday affairs that surrounded and engrossed them. Once in an age appears that rare individual, both architect and contractor, both poet and man of action, to whom is given both the power to dream and the power to execute. Such men write themselves deep in their country's annals and make the epochs of history.

In the history of North Carolina such a man was John M. Morehead. Those who have written and spoken of Governor Morehead heretofore have been chiefly impressed with his great practical wisdom,⁹ and this he certainly had as much as any other man in our history. As for myself, what most impresses me after a careful study of his life and works, is his wonderful power of vision. He was our most visionary builder, our greatest practical dreamer. No other man of his day had so clear a vision of the future to which North Carolina was destined, or did so much to bring about its realization as Governor Morehead. It is no exaggeration to say that we have not now in process of construction, and have not had since his day, a single great work of internal improvement of which he did not dream and for which he did not labor. He dreamed of great lines of railroad binding together not only all sections of North Carolina, but connecting this State with every part of the American Union. He dreamed of a network of improved country roads leading from every farm in the State to all her markets. He dreamed of a great central highway, fed by these roads, finding its origin in the waters of the Atlantic at Morehead City and finally losing itself in the clouds that hang about the crests of the Blue Ridge. He dreamed of the day when the channels of our rivers would be so deepened and widened that they could bear upon their waters our share of the commerce of the world. He dreamed of an inland waterway connecting the harbor of Beaufort with the waters of Pamlico Sound and through the opening of Roanoke Inlet, affording a safe inland passage for coastwise vessels around the whitecaps of Cape Hatteras. He dreamed of the day when the flags of all nations might be seen floating from the masts of their fleets riding at anchor in the harbors of Beaufort and

⁹Kerr, John, "Oration on the Life and Character of John M. Morehead"; In Memoriam of John M. Morehead, Raleigh, 1868; Scott, William Lafayette, "Tribute to the Genius and Worth of John M. Morehead"; *Ibid*; Smith, C. Alphonso, "John Motley Morehead"; The Biographical History of North Carolina, Vol. VI, pp. 250-258; Wooten, Council, "Governor Morehead"; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, September 30, 1901.

Wilmington. He dreamed of a chain of mills and factories dotting every river bank in the State and distributing over these highways of commerce a variety of products bearing the brand of North Carolina manufacturers.

Such were his dreams, and the history of North Carolina during the last half-century is largely the story of their realization. It is this fact that gives to Morehead his unique place in our history. He had a distinguished political career, but his fame is not the fame of the office holder.¹⁰ Indeed, no other man in our history, save Charles B. Aycock alone, in so brief a public career, made so deep an impression on the life of the State. The explanation is simple. The public service of each was inspired by a genuine love of the State and consecrated to the accomplishment of a great purpose. The educational and intellectual development which Aycock stimulated was based on the material prosperity of which Morehead laid the foundation. It is, then, his service as architect and builder of great and enduring public works that gives to Morehead his distinctive place in our annals, and it is of this service that I shall speak today.

When Morehead began his public career the prevailing political thought of the State was, in modern political vernacular, reactionary. Representation was distributed equally among the counties, regardless of population. East of Raleigh, where the institution of slavery was most strongly entrenched, thirty-five counties with a combined population of 294,312, sent to the General Assembly sixteen more Commoners and eight more Senators than twenty-seven counties west of Raleigh which had a combined population of 50,205 more people. A property qualification was requisite for membership in the General Assembly and inasmuch as all State officials were elected by the Legislature, not by the people directly, Property, not Men, controlled the government. The theory of Property was that the best government is that which governs least. Adherents of this school of politics taught, therefore, that government had fulfilled its mission when it had preserved order, punished crime, and kept down the rate of taxation. But another school of political thought, originating in the counties west of Raleigh, where the institution of slavery had not secured so strong a foothold, was now beginning to make itself heard. Its adherents favored a constitutional

¹⁰In 1821 he represented Rockingham County in the House of Commons; in 1826, 1827 and 1858 he represented Guilford County in the House, and in 1860 in the Senate. He was one of the delegates from Guilford in the Convention of 1835. In 1840 he was elected Governor, and in 1842 was re-elected. He was the permanent presiding officer of the National Whig Convention, which met at Philadelphia, June 7, 1848, and nominated General Zachary Taylor for the Presidency. By the act establishing the North Carolina Insane Asylum he was designated as Chairman of the Board of Commissioners to locate and build the asylum. In 1857 he was elected President of the association organized for the purpose of erecting at Greensboro a monument to General Nathanael Greene. He was one of the delegates from North Carolina to the Peace Congress at Washington in 1861. In 1861-'62 he was a member of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States. He died at Greensboro, August 27, 1866.

convention to revise the basis of representation, to give to the people the right to elect their chief magistrate, and in other respects to make the government popular in practice as well as in form; and they advocated internal improvements, geological surveys, the conservation of resources, asylums for the insane, public schools, schools for the deaf and dumb and for the blind, and numerous other progressive measures which all right thinking people now acknowledge to be governmental in their nature. These men were the Progressives of their day.

Morehead found his place among these Progressives. As a member of the General Assembly he was among the foremost in advocating a constitutional convention. He supported measures for the building of good roads, for the digging of canals, for the improvement of inland navigation, for drainage of swamps, and for railroad surveys.¹¹ He opposed a bill to prevent the education of negroes, moved the appointment of a select committee on the colonization of slaves, introduced a bill providing for their emancipation under certain conditions, and displayed so much interest in measures for the amelioration of the conditions of the slaves that his opponents, when he became a candidate for Governor, charged him with being at heart an Abolitionist.¹² He endeavored to secure the appropriation of funds for the collection of material for the preservation of the history of North Carolina¹³ and took a deep interest in all measures for the promotion of public education. In 1827, while he was chairman of the Committee on Education, a bill came before his committee to repeal the Act of 1825 which had created the Literary Fund "for the establishment of common schools." Morehead submitted the report of the committee, in which he said:

Your committee believe that the passage of that act [to establish common schools] must have been greeted by every philanthropist and friend of civil liberty as the foundation on which was to rest the future happiness of our citizens and the perpetuity of our political institutions. * * * From the very nature of our civil institutions, the people must act; it is wisdom and policy to teach them to act from the lights of reason, and not from the blind impulse of deluded feeling. * * * Independent of any political influence that general education might have, your committee are of opinion that any State or sovereign, having the means at command, are morally criminal if they neglect to contribute to each citizen or subject that individual usefulness and happiness which arises from a well cultured understanding. * * * Your committee can not conceive a nobler idea than that of the genius of our coun-

¹¹In the Legislature of 1821 he voted with the minority for a resolution providing for the calling of a Constitutional Convention; for a bill "to provide an additional fund for internal improvements"; in 1826, for a bill to improve the navigation of the Cape Fear River below Wilmington, and for a similar bill in 1827; for the survey of a route for a railroad from New Bern through Raleigh, to the western counties.

¹²The *Raleigh Standard* called him an Abolitionist because as a Member of the Legislature he "drew a report against the proposition of Mr. Stedman, from Chatham, forbidding the instruction of slaves." Quoted in the *Raleigh Register*, January 3, 1840.

¹³He introduced a resolution to advance money from the Literary Fund to be used "in aiding Archibald D. Murphey, of Orange County, in writing and publishing the History of this State," to be repaid from the proceeds of a lottery authorized by the Legislature for the purpose.

try, hovering over the tattered son of some miserable hovel, leading his infant but gigantic mind in the paths of useful knowledge, and pointing out to his noble ambition the open way by which talented merit may reach the highest honors and preferments of our government.

The committee, accordingly, unanimously recommended the rejection of the bill to discontinue the Literary Fund.¹⁴ The recommendation was accepted, the bill was lost, the Literary Fund was saved, and the foundation on which our common school system was afterwards built was preserved intact.

In the Convention of 1835, in which he represented Guilford County, Morehead supported the amendments offered to the Constitution designed to democratize the State Government. Two of these amendments in particular have had a far reaching influence on our history. One of them placed representation in the House of Commons on a basis of Federal population; the other took away from the Legislature the election of the Governor and gave it to the people. To this latter change we may trace the origin of two of the most important political institutions of our own day,—the party State Convention and the preëlection canvass of the State by the nominees for State offices.

The first party State Convention ever held in North Carolina was the Whig Convention which met in Raleigh, November 12, 1839, and nominated John M. Morehead for Governor.¹⁵ Reading the contemporary newspaper reports of this Convention shortly after attending the last State Convention held in this city in June of the present year, one is greatly impressed with the marked contrast in the two bodies. They were typical of the political conditions of the two eras in which they were held. The latter with its more than one thousand cheering, shouting, declaiming delegates, uncontrolled and uncontrollable, was truly representative of the aggressive direct democracy of the twentieth century. The former with its ninety-one sober, orderly, deliberative gentlemen of the old school, thoroughly responsive to the mallet of their chairman, was just as truly representative of the staid, self-restrained, representative democracy of the early nineteenth century.

¹⁴Coon, Charles L.: Public Education in North Carolina, 1790-1840; Vol. I, page 376.

¹⁵Ex-Gov. John Owen, delegate from Bladen, presided. A General Committee of Thirteen, one from each Congressional District, was appointed "to take into consideration the purposes for which the Convention had assembled" and to report thereon. November 13th, this committee reported, among other resolutions, the following: "Resolved, That having been inspired with a deep and lively sense of the eminent practical vigor, sound Republican principles, unblemished public and private virtues, ardent patriotism and decided abilities of John M. Morehead, of the County of Guilford, we do accordingly recommend him to our fellow citizens as a fit successor to our present enlightened Chief Magistrate, Governor Dudley."—Adopted *unanimously*. The platform of the Convention favored: (1) Economy in government; (2) Reform in the revenue system; (3) Reduction in the number of government employees; (4) Selection of government employees "without discrimination of parties"; (5) An Amendment to the Federal Constitution to abolish the Electoral College; (6) One term of four years for the President; (7) A National Bank; (8) A division of the proceeds of public lands among the States on a basis of Federal population; (9) Public education; (10) Strict Construction of the Constitution. It opposed: (1) Jackson's Spoil System; (2) Appointment of Members of Congress to Federal offices during their terms in Congress; (3) Making judicial appointments for partisan reasons; (4) Interference of Federal Officers in elections; (5) Protective tariff; (6) The Federal Government's making internal improvements "except such as may be stamped with a national character"; (7) The Sub-Treasury scheme; (8) Federal interference with slavery.

Morehead's election as Governor followed a campaign that is memorable in the history of North Carolina as the first in which candidates for public office ever made a canvass of the State.¹⁶ But in other respects also his election and inauguration as Chief Executive marks a turning point in our history. He was the first Governor to sit in this Capitol, in itself typical of the new era then dawning upon the State;¹⁷ and, what is more important still, he was the first of our Governors to discard the old *laissez faire* policy which his predecessors had followed since the Revolution, and to come into office with a distinct program in view. This program he outlined in very general terms in his Inaugural Address before the Members of the General Assembly, in the course of which he said:

I shall be happy to coöperate with you in bringing into active operation all the elements of greatness and usefulness with which our State is so abundantly blessed. Other States have outstripped us in the career of improvements, and in the development of their natural resources, but North Carolina will stand a favorable comparison with most of her sister States in her natural advantages,—her great extent of fertile soil, her great variety of production, her exhaustless deposits of mineral wealth, her extraordinary water-power, inviting to manufactures, all, all combine to give her advantages that few other States possess. Whatever measures you may adopt to encourage agriculture and to induce the husbandman while he toils and sweats to hope that his labors will be duly rewarded; whatever measures you may adopt to facilitate commerce and to aid industry in all departments of life to reap its full rewards, will meet with my cordial approbation. * * * It is equally our duty, fellow citizens, to attend to our moral and intellectual cultivation. * * * It is to our common schools, in which every child can receive the rudiments of an education, that our attention should be mainly directed. Our system is yet in its infancy; it will require time and experience to give to it its greatest perfection. * * * I doubt not, in due time, the legislative wisdom of the State will perfect the system as far as human sagacity can do it. And no part of my official duty will be performed with more pleasure than that part which may aid in bringing about that happy result.¹⁸

¹⁶Morehead's opponent in 1840 was Romulus M. Saunders. The vote was, Morehead 44,484; Saunders, 35,903; Morehead's majority, 8,581. In 1842 Morehead's opponent was Louis D. Henry. The vote was, Morehead, 37,943; Henry, 34,411; Morehead's majority, 3,532. The falling off in Morehead's vote is attributable to the disorganization of the Whig party following the death of President Harrison, and the defection of President Tyler. Morehead's first inauguration was January 1, 1841; his second, December 31, 1842.

¹⁷Referring to this fact in his Inaugural Address before the General Assembly he said:

"You are the first legislative body that ever had the honor to assemble in its splendid halls. I am the first Executive who ever had the honor to be installed within its durable walls. It will endure as a monument for ages to come of the munificence, the liberality and taste of the age in which we live. There is a moral effect produced by the erection of such an edifice as this,—it will serve in the chain of time to link the past with the future. And if ever that proud spirit that has ever characterized us, which has ever been ready to assert its rights and to avenge its wrongs, which exhibited itself at the Regulation Battle of 1770 [1771], which burnt with more brilliance at the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence in 1775, and which boldly declared for independence in 1776,—if ever that proud spirit shall become craven in time to come, and shall not dare animate the bosom of a freeman, let it look upon this monument and remember the glorious institution under which its foundations were laid, and the noble people by whom it was reared, and then let it become a slave if it can. May it endure for ages to come—may it endure until time itself shall grow old; may a thousand years find these halls still occupied by freemen legislating for a free and happy people."—*Raleigh Register*, January 5, 1841.

¹⁸*Raleigh Register*, January 5, 1841.

But we should not expect a man of Governor Morehead's great practical wisdom to content himself with general observations. To reduce these general observations into a concrete, practical system was the work of his first two years in the Governor's office, and when the Legislature of 1842 met he was ready with a message outlining a complete system of internal improvements.¹⁹ His scheme embraced the further extension of the railroad lines already built in the State, the improvement of our rivers and harbors, the construction of extensive lines of turnpikes, and the linking of all three together in one general system of transportation. One of the ablest public documents in our history, this message, for its practical bearing on the problems of our own day, still repays a careful study. With reference to the great inland waterway now nearing completion, of which the connection between Pamlico Sound and Beaufort Harbor forms an important link, he said:

Turning our attention to the eastern part of the State, two improvements said to be practicable, assume an importance that renders them national in their character. I allude to the opening of Roanoke Inlet and the connection of Pamlico Sound by a ship canal with Beaufort harbor. Frequent surveys of the first of these proposed improvements * * * establish the feasibility of this work. The advantages arising from this improvement to our commerce are too obvious to need pointing out. But the view to be taken of its vast importance is in the protection it will afford to our shipping and the lives of our seamen. The difficulty and dangers often encountered at Ocracoke Inlet render the connection between Pamlico Sound and Beaufort harbor of vast importance to the convenience and security of our commerce and shipping. It will be an extension of that inland navigation, so essential to us in time of war, and give access to one of the safest harbors on our coast, and one from which a vessel can be quicker at sea than from any other, perhaps, on the continent. In these improvements the commerce of the nation is interested; it becomes the duty of the nation to make them, if they be practicable and proper. I therefore recommend that you bring the attention of Congress to the subject in the manner most likely to effect the object. * * * We should assert a continual claim to our right to have this work effected by the general government. * * * You would be saved the trouble of this appeal if the nation could witness one of those storms so frequent on our coast—could witness the war of elements which rage around Hatteras and the dangers which dance about Ocracoke—could witness the noble daring of our pilots and the ineffectual but manly struggles of our seamen—could see our coast fringed with wrecks and our towns filled with the widows and orphans of our gallant tars. Justice and humanity would extort what we now ask in vain.

¹⁹This message is published in the Journals of the Legislature, Session of 1842-'43, pp. 405-422; also in the Public Documents of the same year. Doc. No. 1.

Of the conditions of transportation and travel in the central section of the State, he said:

I would respectfully invite your attention to the public highways generally. * * * From Fayetteville, the highest point of good navigation, westward to the Buncombe Turnpike, a distance of some two hundred and fifty or three hundred miles, what navigable stream, railroad, turnpike, or macadamized highway gives to the laborer facilities of transportation? None! Literally none! This vast extent of territory, reaching from the Blue Ridge in the west to the alluvial region in the east, and extending across the whole State, it is believed, will compare with any spot upon the globe for the fertility of its soil, the variety of its productions, the salubrity of its climate, the beauty of its landscapes, the richness of its mines, the facilities for manufactures, and the intelligence and moral worth of its population. Can another such territory, combining all these advantages, be found upon the face of the whole earth, so wholly destitute of natural or artificial facilities for transportation?

"What scheme, that is practicable," he asked, "will afford the desired facilities?" And in answer to this query he made two recommendations.

The remedy for these evils is believed to be in good turnpikes. * * * I therefore recommend that a charter be granted to make a turnpike road from the city of Raleigh to some point westward selected with a view to its ultimate continuance to the extreme west. * * * Should this road be continued to Waynesboro [now Goldsboro], which might be done at comparatively small expense, the farmer would have the choice of markets, of Wilmington by the railroad, or New Bern by the river Neuse.

Further he recommended:

That a charter be granted to make a turnpike from Fayetteville to the Yadkin River at some point above the Narrows, or, if deemed more expedient, to some point on a similar road leading from Raleigh westward, thus giving the west the advantages of both markets. * * * Should this road ever reach the Yadkin, no doubt is entertained of its continuance across the Catawba westward—thus giving to this road the advantages which will arise from the navigation of these two noble rivers.

Nearly seventy years were to pass before the State was ready for the execution of these plans, and it was left for the engineers of 1912 to realize what the statesman of 1842 had dreamed. A vaster work was waiting the constructive genius of Morehead.

Turning his eyes farther westward, Governor Morehead foresaw the future development of the mountainous section of North Carolina. To make this region more interesting, he declared, we have only to make it more accessible, and continuing, he said:

The sublimity and beauty of its mountain scenery, the purity of its waters, the buoyancy and salubrity of its atmosphere, the fertility of its valleys, the

verdure of its mountains, and, above all, its energetic, intelligent and hospitable inhabitants, make it an inviting portion of the State. * * * When good roads shall be established in that region, it is believed the population will increase with rapidity, agriculture improve, grazing will be extended, and manufactures and the mechanic arts will flourish in a location combining so many advantages and inviting their growth. The improved highways will be additional inducements to the citizens of other sections of our State to abandon their usual northern tours, or visits to the Virginia watering places, for a tour much more interesting among our own mountains, much cheaper, and much more beautiful—a tour in which they will inspire health in every breath and drink in health at every draught.

Governor Morehead did not expect, indeed he did not desire that the General Assembly should proceed to put all of his recommendations into immediate effect. He realized only too well that such a procedure would require enormous outlays far beyond the resources of the State, and he never forgot that debts contracted today must be paid tomorrow. Sufficient warning of the effects of such a course was not lacking. Many of the Southern and Western States embarking in wild and extravagant schemes of internal improvements had made such vast expenditures that their treasuries had become bankrupt and their people oppressed with obligations which they could not meet; and to extricate themselves they had resorted to the very simple but very effective means of repudiation. If Governor Morehead loved progress much, he detested repudiation more; and the most vigorous passage in his message is that in which he warns the Legislature against such a course. Said he:

I would recommend that whatever schemes of expenditure you may embark in, you keep within the means at the command of the State; otherwise the people must be taxed more heavily or the State must contract a loan. The pressure of the times forbids the former—the tarnished honor of some of the States should make us, for the present, decline the latter. The mania for State banking and the mad career of internal improvements, which seized a number of the States, have involved them in an indebtedness very oppressive, but not hopeless. American credit and character requires that this stain of violated faith should be obliterated by our honest acknowledgment of the debt, and a still more honest effort to pay it. I therefore recommend the passage of resolutions expressive of the strong interest which this State feels in the full redemption of every pledge of public faith, and of its utter detestation of the abominable doctrine of Repudiation. That State which honestly owes a debt and has or can command the means of payment, and refuses to pay because it can not be compelled to do so, has already bartered Public Honor, and only waits an increase of price to barter Public Liberty. This recommendation will come with peculiar force from you. North Carolina has been jeered for sluggishness and indolence, because she has chosen to guard her treasury and protect her honor by avoiding debt and promptly meeting her engagements. She has yielded to others the glory of their

magnificent expenditures and will yield to them all that glory which will arise from a repudiation of their contracts. In the language of one of her noblest sons, "It is better for her to sleep on in indolence and innocence than to wake up in infamy and treason."

The schemes outlined in Morehead's message of 1842 were laid before a Legislature controlled by the Democratic party, and the policy of that party was hostile to internal improvements. Morehead accordingly was forced to wait upon events for the consummation of his great schemes. In outlining these schemes he had given evidences of his extraordinary power of vision; the next few years were to bring him an opportunity to demonstrate his ability to transform his dreams into actual realities. This opportunity, for which he had so long waited, came with the passage by the Legislature of 1849 of the act to charter "The North Carolina Railroad Company." The history of this measure—the long and bitter contest between the East and the West over the proposed railroad from Charlotte to Danville, the statesmanlike compromise of its advocates in accepting the road from Charlotte to Goldsboro, the prolonged struggle and ultimate victory in the House of Commons, the dramatic scene in the Senate wherein Calvin Graves immolated his own personal ambition on the altar of public duty,—all this has been described so often that it is not necessary to repeat the story here. The act authorized the organization of a corporation with stock of \$3,000,000, of which the State was to take \$2,000,000 when private individuals had subscribed \$1,000,000 and actually paid in \$500,000. North Carolina had long stood at the turn of the road hesitatingly. By the passage of this act she finally made her decision. The enthusiasm of Governor Morehead, who was not usually given to picturesque language, was too great for plain speech. "The passage of the act," he declared, "under which this company is organized was the dawning of hope to North Carolina; the securing its charter was the rising sun of that hope; the completion of the road will be the meridian glory of that hope, pregnant with the results that none living can divine."²⁰

For the next five years, during which the private subscription of \$1,000,000 was secured, the charter obtained, the company organized, the route surveyed, and the road constructed, the dominant figure in its history is the figure of John M. Morehead. In this period he performed his greatest service to the State and enrolled his name permanently among the builders of the Commonwealth. The experience of North Carolina in railroad building up to that time had not been encouraging. Both the Wilmington and Weldon and the Raleigh and Gaston railroads

²⁰Report of the Directors of the North Carolina Railroad Company: Legislative Documents 1850-'51, Executive Document No. 9.

were bankrupt for the want of patronage. In the face of this fact, it was no slight achievement to raise a million dollars in North Carolina for another similar enterprise. Yet this is the task to which Governor Morehead now set himself. On June 15, 1849, he presided over a great Internal Improvements Convention at Salisbury at which measures, largely suggested by himself, were adopted for securing the stock.²¹ Placed by this convention at the head of an executive committee to carry out these measures, he pushed them with a vigor, determination, and wisdom that aroused the enthusiasm of the whole State and inspired confidence in the enterprise. Speaking of his work at a convention held in Greensboro, November 30, 1849, in the interest of the road, the Greensboro *Patriot* declared that "the determined spirit of this distinguished gentleman touched every heart in that assembly and awoke a feeling of enthusiasm and anxiety, deep, startling, and fervent as we have ever witnessed."²² On March 6, 1850, Morehead was able to announce to a convention at Hillsboro that only \$100,000 remained to be taken to complete the private subscription, and then announced his willingness to be one of the ten men to take the balance. Nine others promptly came forward, subscribed their proportionate part, and thus ensured the building of the road.²³ "It is worthy of remark," declared Major Walter Gwyn, the eminent engineer whose skill contributed so much to the construction of the road, "that the whole amount was subscribed by individuals, without the aid of corporations, the largest subscription

²¹This convention was attended by two hundred and twenty-five delegates from twenty-one counties and Norfolk, Virginia. Among those present were, ex-Gov. D. L. Swain, ex-Gov. W. A. Graham, ex-Gov. John M. Morehead, John W. Ellis, afterwards Governor, John A. Gilmer, Rufus Barringer, Victor Barringer, James W. Osborne, Calvin H. Wiley, Hamilton C. Jones. Morehead was unanimously elected president. The correspondent of the *Raleigh Register* wrote that the meetings of this convention "had been looked to for some time past with the most intense interest, by the friends of the Central Railroad, as determining, to a considerable extent, the probable success or failure of that enterprise." He declared that "the Convention in every respect—the numbers, intelligence and respectability of its members, its zeal and its harmony of action—was all that even the most sanguine would have desired."

* * * The address of the President was, in all respects, worthy the importance of the occasion and the high reputation of the man." A Committee of Thirteen was appointed "to consider of and report upon the measures to be acted on by the Convention." This committee recommended a plan, which the Convention adopted, for securing stock subscriptions and the appointment of an Executive Committee of three to carry it into effect. Morehead was made Chairman of this Executive Committee. The other members were George W. Mordecai and Dr. W. R. Holt.—The *Raleigh Register*, June 23, 1849. Similar Conventions were held at Greensboro, November 29, 1849; Raleigh, December 15, 1849; Goldsboro, in January, 1850; and Hillsboro, March, 1850. At the Greensboro Convention Governor Morehead "passed a high eulogism upon Calvin Graves, of Caswell, who had given the casting vote by which this charter of the N. C. Railroad Company had been passed," and then nominated him for president. Morehead was appointed chairman of the committee on subscriptions. He reported subscriptions of \$190,800. John A. Gilmer suggested that one hundred men come forward to take the balance in equal parts. Morehead headed the list, but the requisite number was not secured. After several addresses had been delivered, Morehead rose and said "that as the speaking seemed to be over, he reckoned we had as well get to work now, and take the remainder of the stock." As only fifty-one men had taken up Mr. Gilmer's suggestion, Morehead agreed to double his subscription, if the others would. The proposition, however, was not accepted.—*Raleigh Star*, December 5, 1849. On December 15, Morehead addressed the Convention at Raleigh at which about \$40,000 of stock was subscribed. He was also at the Goldsboro Convention. At the Hillsboro Convention the subscription was completed, and a meeting of the stockholders called to be held at Salisbury, to organize the company.

²²Quoted in the *Raleigh Star*, December 5, 1849.

²³The others were George W. Mordecai, of Wake; John W. Thomas, of Davidson; Dr. (Edmund) Strudwick, of Orange; Paul Cameron, of Orange; William Boylan, of Wake; Alonzo T. Jerkins, of Craven; Dr. A. J. DeRosset, of New Hanover; Giles Mebane, of Alamance; and a group of ten individuals in Orange who subscribed the last ten thousand.—*Raleigh Star*, March 20, 1850.

thus made to any public improvement in the Southern country." The editor of the *Raleigh Star*,²⁴ announced the completion of the private subscription with the following comments:

We must be permitted to remark that the State owes much to that sterling man, Governor Morehead, for success in this enterprise; and that he who has heretofore been styled a "wheel horse" in this matter, may be justly entitled to the appellation of a "whole team." Whilst we pen these hasty lines, the deep-mouthed cannon is pealing forth from Union Square commemorative of this great deed for North Carolina. We are not of a very excitable disposition, but we must confess that it makes our blood run quicker at every peal, so that we can scarcely restrain ourselves from responding to its notes, "Huzza! Huzza! for the railroad."

On July 11, 1850, the private stockholders met at Salisbury and organized the company.²⁵ The board of directors unanimously elected John M. Morehead president. He was continuously reelected president until 1855, when declining further election he was succeeded by Charles F. Fisher. During these five years of President Morehead's administration the North Carolina Railroad, truly described as "the greatest of all enterprises so far attempted by the State of North Carolina in the nature of a public or internal improvement," was constructed and opened to traffic. The surveys were commenced August 21, 1850; on July 11, 1851, at Greensboro, in the presence of an immense throng, ground for the laying of the rails was broken;²⁶ on January 29, 1856, the road was ready for cars from Goldsboro to Charlotte, a distance of two hundred and twenty-three miles. In his last report to the board of directors, Engineer Gwyn said that the breaking of ground for this railroad "may be justly regarded as an event which will ever be memorable in the annals of North Carolina—an era which marks her engaging with

²⁴March 6, 1850.

²⁵The following Directors were elected: William C. Means, John B. Lord, John I. Shaver, Francis Fries, John W. Thomas, John M. Morehead, John A. Gilmer, William A. Graham, Benjamin Trolinger, Romulus M. Saunders, Armand J. DeRosset, Alonzo T. Jerkins. The Directors elected the following officers: President, John M. Morehead; Secretary-Treasurer, John U. Kirkland; Engineer, Major Walter Gwyn.

²⁶This ceremony followed the regular annual meeting of the stockholders. The correspondent of the *Raleigh Register* gives the following account of it:

"A crowd of people appeared, ready for the celebration, such as we may safely say was never seen in our town before for numbers. It was one universal jam all out of doors. The young gentlemen who acted as marshals had hard enough work of it, to persuade this vast and unwieldy crowd into marching shape; but they at length succeeded to a degree which at first appeared impossible. The procession was formed on West Street, the clergy in front; then the stockholders; then the Orders of Odd Fellows and Free Masons, who turned out in great numbers and in full regalia; closing with the citizens generally. This immense line moved down South Street to a point on the Railroad survey nearly opposite the Caldwell Institute building, where a space of a hundred feet each way was enclosed by a line and reserved for the ceremony of the day. The north side of this space was occupied by the ladies, whose smiles are always ready for the encouragement of every good word and work. The other three sides were soon occupied by the male portion of the assemblage, from ten to twenty deep around. You may imagine, then, the difficulty which the 'rear rank' encountered in getting a glimpse of the proceedings within.

"Having the misfortune to be among the outsiders, our situation was of course unfavorable for hearing, and seeing was impossible. But we did hear nearly every word of Governor Morehead's clear, sonorous voice, as he introduced the Hon. Calvin Graves to the vast assemblage. He did this in terms eloquent and singularly appropriate to the occasion. After alluding to the necessity so long felt by our people for an outlet to the commercial world—to the inception of the great scheme, the commencement of which we had met today to celebrate—to the vicissitudes of the charter before the two houses

earnestness in honorable competition with her sister states in the great work of internal improvement which is to raise the State to that rank which the advantages of her situation entitle her to hold," and continuing, he said:

From this memorable day, July 11, 1851, there has been no faltering or despondency; all have been united heart and hand in the great undertaking; the whole State, her entire people, catching the enthusiasm which it engendered, have come forth in their might and majesty, battling in the cause of internal improvement, those heretofore signalized as laggards now pressing forward in the front rank. * * * The contractors on the North Carolina Railroad were all stockholders, and with only two or three exceptions entirely destitute of experience in the work they undertook; they commenced their contracts very generally in January, 1852, and on the first of January, 1853, without the aid of a single dollar from the treasury of the company, but relying entirely upon their own credit and means, their united labor amounted to \$500,000, which, carried to the credit of their stock subscription, fulfilled the second condition of the subscription on the part of the State and brought her in as a partner in the great enterprise. This (coupling the subscription of a million of dollars by individuals, chiefly farmers, and working out a half a million on their own resources) is an achievement unprecedented in the annals of the public works of this or any other country, and wherever known (and it ought to be published everywhere) will disabuse the public mind and vindicate the energy, enterprise and industry of the citizens of the State. I have repeatedly said publicly, and perceiving no impropriety in it, I avail myself of this occasion to say that in my experience, now exceeding thirty years, I have not found on any public work with which I have been connected a set of contractors more reliable than those with whom I have had to deal on the North Carolina Railroad, and none with whom my intercourse has been so pleasant and agreeable.

It is no small tribute to the wisdom and constructive genius of President Morehead to be able to say that, of all the contracts which, as president of the road, he had to make, the only one about which any controversy ever arose, or any charge of favoritism was ever made, was one

of the General Assembly, and the fact that it at last hung upon the decision of the Speaker of the Senate, and that its fate was decided in the affirmative by the unflinching 'Aye' of that Speaker, Calvin Graves,—he said that no other citizen of North Carolina could so appropriately perform the ceremony of removing the first earth in the commencement of this work on which the hopes of the State so vitally depend, as to the man who pronounced the decisive 'Aye.'

"It was impossible for us to catch the full connection of Mr. Graves' speech. Some sentences we heard, glowing with that patriotic feeling which has so long distinguished him as one of the first and best sons of old North Carolina. We could only judge generally of its effect by the waving of parasols and handkerchiefs among the ladies, and the frequent and hearty applause that arose from the inner ranks of the citizens.

"At the conclusion of Mr. Graves' speech he 'broke' ground on the Railroad by digging up and depositing in a box prepared for that purpose a few spadeful of earth.

"Governor Morehead remarked that this was deposited in the box, to remain a hundred years, and then be reopened for our inspection! The crowd laughed at the ludicrousness of the idea and so did we. But it naturally awoke a graver thought. Before a tenth of a century shall pass, we dare say that numbers of those present will see the railroad cars swiftly traversing the spot where this interesting ceremony occurred.

"The annual meeting of stockholders closed on Friday morning. Nothing of importance was done during the afternoon sitting. * * * The apprehension felt by a few that something fatal to the road would happen at this meeting was very agreeably dissipated. Conciliation and harmony, and a disposition to prosecute the enterprise with all power to a successful termination marked the proceedings."—The Raleigh Register, July 16, 1851.

which the State Directors, for partisan political purposes, took out of his hands and referred for settlement to a committee of their own choosing.²⁷

The North Carolina Railroad was only one link in the great State system which Morehead contemplated. As he himself expressed it this system was to include "one great leading trunk line of railway from the magnificent harbor of Beaufort to the Tennessee line." Writing in 1866, he attributed the conception of this scheme to Joseph Caldwell and Judge Gaston, adding:

Charter after charter, by the influence of these great men, was granted to effect the work, but the gigantic work was thought to be too much for the limited means the State and her citizens could then command, and the charters remain monuments of *their* wisdom and our folly, or inability to carry them out. A more successful plan it is hoped was finally adopted—to do this great work by sections. The North Carolina Railroad * * * was the first [section] undertaken.²⁸

The other sections were to be built between Goldsboro and Beaufort

²⁷This controversy was an incident in one of the most memorable events in Governor Morehead's career. Before the passage of the act to charter the North Carolina Railroad Company, the people of the Central section of the State had asked the Legislature to charter a company to build a railroad from Charlotte to Danville, Va. The people of the East opposed this charter, and in 1849 its advocates accepted in its place the railroad from Charlotte to Goldsboro. Nearly ten years passed, therefore, before anything more was heard of the Danville Connection. In 1858 the advocates of the Danville Connection again brought forward their scheme, and asked for a charter for a company to build a road, without any aid from the State, to connect the North Carolina Railroad at Greensboro with the Richmond and Danville at Danville. The bill was introduced in the House of Commons in 1858 by Francis L. Simpson, of Rockingham, but everybody understood that it was in reality Governor Morehead's bill and he was its principal champion. The members from the East, supported by the *Raleigh Register* and the *Raleigh Standard*, immediately assailed the project as inimical to the interests of the North Carolina Railroad. The debate continued several days. It was participated in by some of the ablest debaters in the State, and was extended to embrace the whole subject and history of the State's policy toward railroads. Governor Morehead's administration of the affairs of the North Carolina Railroad was bitterly assailed. He was charged with mismanagement and with a breach of faith and betrayal of the interests of the State, his opponents claiming that, while soliciting subscriptions to stock in the North Carolina Railroad Company, he had expressly promised to abandon forever all advocacy of the Danville Connection. No more formidable attack, perhaps, has ever been made on any public man in the history of North Carolina. Arrayed against Morehead, besides the two newspapers mentioned, were Robert R. Bridgers, of Edgecombe; W. T. Dortch, of Wayne; Pride Jones and John W. Norwood, of Orange, and I. Dennis D. Ferebee, of Camden, and others scarcely less distinguished for ability. Morehead's defence is still remembered as one of the really great forensic triumphs in our history. Mr. J. S. F. Baird, who represented Buncombe County in that Legislature, and who was not of Governor Morehead's political faith, under date of April 29, 1912, writes of the contest:

"After the lapse of fifty-four years it is impossible for me to recall many of the incidents of the debate but this much I do remember, that Colonel Bridgers' attack on Governor Morehead was futile and did the Governor no harm, for he vindicated himself in the most thorough manner."

Two other members who themselves participated in the debate have left their testimony. John Kerr, of Rockingham County, said of Morehead's defence:

"Never was a more brilliant victory won than he achieved that day. His assailants were driven from all their positions, were pursued and routed, 'horse, foot and dragoons.' * * * They were *strong men*, and the House felt the shock of battle while the conflict lasted. But when he closed his defence his assailants bore the air of deep dejection and discomfiture. The House was enraptured with the display of power on the part of Governor Morehead, and no further charges were heard against him." Hon. Thomas Settle said: "For a time the attack seemed overwhelming, and Governor Morehead's friends feared that he would not be able to repel it. For five days he sat and received it in silence, but when he arose and as he proceeded with his defence, friend, foe, and everybody else was struck with amazement. We could scarcely realize that any man possessed such powers of argument and eloquence. His vindication was so complete that his assailants openly acknowledged it." Mr. C. S. Wooten, who did not hear the debate but remembers the impression it created in the State at the time, says of Morehead's effort: "I know of but one other instance in American history that can parallel Morehead's fight and that was when Benton, solitary and alone, made his fight against Calhoun, Clay and Webster in favor of his resolution expunging from the records of the Senate the resolution censuring General Jackson. There never has been such another instance in the history of the State of such moral courage, such heroic firmness, and such a grand exhibition of iron nerve." In the heat of the contest the Danville Connection was almost forgotten in the attack on Morehead. The former was defeated by a strictly sectional vote; but Morehead achieved, according to all testimony, both contemporary and subsequent, a great personal triumph. The newspaper reports of the debate are too meager to give one anything like an adequate idea of the speeches on either side.

²⁸Letter to the Stockholders of the North Carolina Railroad Co. Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting, July 17, 1866.

and between Salisbury and the Tennessee boundary. In accordance with this plan the Legislature, in 1853, incorporated "The Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad Company," and "The North Carolina and Western Railroad Company," to which Governor Morehead referred as "the contemplated extensions of the North Carolina Railroad." Immediately after the passage of these acts, Governor Reid ordered President Morehead and the Directors of the North Carolina Railroad to make the necessary surveys. In an open letter to the Greensboro *Patriot*, Governor Morehead said of this order:

I desire to give this pleasing intelligence to the friends of these enterprises, through your valuable paper, with an assurance that the work will be commenced at as early a day as practicable. * * * Not a moment is to be lost. The deep, deep regret is that these extensions are not now in full progress of construction. The giant strides of improvement around us should arouse us to action. The ignominious and pusillanimous complaint that Nature has done so little for us is a libel upon the old dame. Let us see if it is not. * * * We have at the eastern terminus of one of these extensions one of the finest harbors, at Beaufort, for all commercial purposes, on the whole Atlantic coast. And if the improvements at the mouth of Cape Fear shall succeed, as it is hoped they will, we shall have another port surpassed by few, if any, in the South. * * * But it may be asked, what commerce have we to require such a port as Beaufort? Let the answer be, the commerce of the world. Look at the location of this port—placed at the end of the North Carolina coast, which projects like a promontory into the Atlantic, midway and within sight of the great line of navigation between the North and the South, and within thirty minutes' sail of the ocean. Nature made it for a stopping place of commerce—the halfway house between the North and the South, where steamers may get their supplies of anthracite, semi-bituminous and bituminous coal. * * * But let us take a western view of these extensions. The road running from Beaufort along the Central Railroad [the North Carolina Railroad] and to the Tennessee line and thence along the lines already in progress of construction to Memphis will not vary one degree from a due west course. Extend the same line westward (and I predict it will surely be done) to the city of San Francisco, which is to become the great emporium of the East India trade, and who can doubt that the trade of the Mississippi Valley, as well as that of the East Indies and China, will crowd our port.²⁹

Under Morehead's supervision, the work of both the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, and the Western North Carolina Railroad was inaugurated.³⁰ On June 17, 1858, the former was completed and

²⁹Raleigh Register, June 25, 1843.

³⁰Morehead was the pioneer in developing our system of internal improvements and was the leading spirit in the building of the North Carolina Railroad. He was President for four years of the Central Road and was the Chief Contractor in building the road from Morehead City to New Bern. * * * Badger was an abler lawyer, Bragg a more astute reasoner, Graham more polished and graceful, but Morehead, as a man of affairs, for broad scope and grasp of intellect, for vigor of thought, for practical common sense, for managing vast financial enterprises, was greater than either. He could stuff his pants in his boot legs, splash through the mud and build railroads while the others would rather recline in easy chairs in some cosy office and attend to their law practice, discuss literature, or talk on social topics. While building the road from New Bern to Morehead, I have seen him dressed as I have described, and his boots besmeared with the red mud of Guilford County."—C. S. Wooten.

ready for trains from Goldsboro to Beaufort Harbor; and a few months thereafter found trains running over the latter to within four miles of Morganton, while the entire route to the Tennessee line had been surveyed and partly graded. In 1866 a bill drawn in accordance with the original plan, was introduced in the Senate to consolidate these two roads and the North Carolina Railroad under the name of "The North Carolina Railroad Company." Morehead, ~~now~~ approaching the end of his long and useful career, strongly endorsed and supported this measure. One of his last public utterances was an appeal to the stockholders of the North Carolina Railroad Company to throw their powerful influence in favor of the consummation of the great plans for which he had given the best service of his life. After giving a brief résumé of the railroad work done in the State he said:

Here let us pause and take a survey of what has been done in *seven* years towards this great work. From Beaufort harbor to Goldsboro the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad Company have built ninety-six miles. From Goldsboro to Charlotte you (the North Carolina Railroad) have built two hundred and twenty-three miles. From Salisbury to within four miles of Morganton the Western North Carolina Railroad have built seventy-six miles * * * making in all three hundred and ninety-five miles, from which deduct forty-three miles from Salisbury to Charlotte, and we have actually built of this great line three hundred and fifty-two miles in one continuous line. Think of it! Seven years! In the lifetime of a State or nation seven years is but as a moment in its existence. It would not cover the dawning of its existence. In the great day of a nation's improvements seven years would not be the sunrise of that day. We have done this great work in the twilight of our great day of internal improvement—a day which dawned so beautifully upon us, but which became enveloped in that gloom which shrouds the nation in mourning. But let us not despair. The day which dawned so beautifully upon us will yet reach its meridian splendor. Then let us be up and doing * * * and then the hopes, the dreams of the great and good Caldwell and Gaston will be realized. * * * You have the honor of being the pioneers in this great work executed in sections. Do yourselves now the honor to consolidate the whole and complete the original design. You, the most powerful and most independent of the three corporations, can, with much grace, propose to your sister corporations consolidations upon terms of justice and equity manifesting selfishness in naught but your name. Yield not that. The new consolidated corporation should be still "The North Carolina Railroad Company." This will be a corporation worthy of you, of your State, and of the great destinies that await it.³¹

What this great destiny was no man had foreseen so clearly as he. The traveler of 1912 along the line of the North Carolina Railroad sees the fulfilment of Morehead's dreams of 1850. He finds himself in one of the most productive regions of the new world. He traverses it from one end to the other at a speed of forty miles an hour, surrounded

³¹Letter of July 17, 1866, to the Stockholders of the North Carolina Railroad Company.

by every comfort and convenience of modern travel. He passes through a region bound together by a thousand miles of steel rails, by telegraph and telephone lines, and by nearly two thousand miles of improved country roads. He finds a population engaged not only in agriculture, but in manufacturing, in commerce, in transportation, and in a hundred other enterprises. Instead of a few old fashioned handlooms turning out annually less than \$400,000 worth of "homemade" articles, he hears the hum of three hundred and sixty modern factories, operating two millions of spindles and looms by steam, water, electricity, employing more than fifty millions of capital, and sending their products to the uttermost ends of the earth. His train passes through farm lands that, since Morehead began his work, have increased six times in value, that produce annually ten times as much cotton and seventy-five times as much tobacco. From his car window instead of the four hundred and sixty-six log huts that passed for schoolhouses in 1850, with their handful of pupils, he beholds a thousand modern schoolhouses, alive with the energy and activity of one hundred thousand school children. His train carries him from Goldsboro through Raleigh, Durham, Burlington, Greenboro, High Point, Lexington, Salisbury, Concord, Charlotte,—villages that have grown into cities, old fields and cross roads that have become thriving centers of industry and culture. Better than all else, he finds himself among a people, no longer characterized by their lethargy, isolation and ignorance, but bristling with energy, alert to every opportunity, fired with the spirit of the modern world, and with their faces steadfastly set toward the future.

The foundation on which all this prosperity and progress rests is the work done by John M. Morehead or inspired by him. No well informed man can be found today in North Carolina who will dispute his primacy among the railroad builders of the State. The North Carolina Railroad, the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, the Western North Carolina Railroad, the connecting link between the North Carolina and the Richmond and Danville railroads from Greensboro to Danville, all bear witness of his supremacy in this field. In one of the finest passages of his message to the General Assembly in 1842 he urged the building of good country roads; today there are five thousand miles of improved rural highways in North Carolina. He recommended the building of a Central Highway from Morehead City through Raleigh to the Tennessee line; today we have just witnessed the completion of a great State Highway piercing the very heart of the State almost along the very route he suggested seventy years ago. He suggested plans for extensive improvements of our rivers and harbors; today a "thirty foot channel to the sea" has become the slogan of our chief port and the National Government is

Address of Acceptance

BY J. Y. JOYNER, SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

To me has been assigned, in the absence of the Governor, the pleasant duty of accepting, on behalf of the State of North Carolina, this marble bust of John Motley Morehead.

"Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." This man whose memory we are met to honor today, is *facile princeps* among North Carolina's great leaders of those silent revolutions by which alone are won the greatest victories of peace.

Father and builder of the North Carolina Railroad, pioneer manufacturer, promoter of inland waterways and public highways, successful champion of public education and of charitable institutions, able advocate of all that was best industrially, morally, and intellectually for his people, gifted with the vision and enthusiasm that characterizes every truly great soul, endowed with common sense, wisdom, courage, force of character, strength of will and devotion to duty that made him a great leader and a great executive in public and private business, he has won and merited his place in North Carolina history among "the few, the immortal names that were not born to die." His bust deserves this honored niche in the Westminster Abbey of our State.

As his tongue was the first to proclaim from the granite halls of this Capitol North Carolina's declaration of commercial and industrial freedom, and to point the way thereto, may the spirit of the man, incarnate in this sculptured image, speak, trumpet-tongued, through these marble lips to the countless generations of noble youth that reverently pause before it, and hearten them for high endeavor and noble achievement.

In the name of the people of the State that he served with such distinguished ability, I now accept, with gratitude to the donors, this artistic image of one of her greatest Governors and noblest sons.

THE FOURTH BIENNIAL REPORT

OF THE

North Carolina Historical Commission

December 1, 1910 to
November 30, 1912

RALEIGH

EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING COMPANY

1912

The North Carolina Historical Commission

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R. D. W. CONNOR, SECRETARY

RALEIGH

**REPORT OF THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL
COMMISSION.**

To His Excellency, GOVERNOR W. W. KITCHIN:

SIR:—For the information of your Excellency, we beg to submit herewith the report of the Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission for the biennial period, December 1, 1910-November 30, 1912, which we have carefully considered and approved.

Respectfully submitted,

J. BRYAN GRIMES,
Chairman.

W. J. PEELE,
D. H. HILL,
M. C. S. NOBLE,
THOMAS M. PITTMAN,
Commissioners.

Raleigh, N. C.,
December 19, 1912.

**REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL COMMISSION, DECEMBER 1, 1910-
NOVEMBER 30, 1912.**

MESSRS. J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Chairman*; W. J. PEELE, D. H. HILL, M. C. S. NOBLE, AND THOMAS M. PITTMAN, *Members of the North Carolina Historical Commission.*

GENTLEMEN:—In compliance with the requirements of the law and in obedience to your instructions, I herewith submit my report as Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, for the biennial period beginning December 1, 1910, and ending November 30, 1912.

Organization of the Commission, 1911-1913.

At the regular annual meeting of the Commission held in the office of the Secretary of State, June 29, 1911, the Chairman announced the appointment by the Governor of Messrs. D. H. Hill and W. J. Peele as members of the Commission for the term from April 1, 1911, to April 1, 1917. At this meeting Hon. J. Bryan Grimes was reëlected Chairman, and R. D. W. Connor, Secretary of the Commission for the term ending April 1, 1913.

Changes in Membership.

Since my last report the Commission has lost one of its members by the death on October 3, 1911, of Hon. Thomas W. Blount. On October 4, at the call of the Chairman, a meeting of the Commission was held in the office of the Secretary of State, at which the following expression of appreciation of Mr. Blount's services as a member of the Commission and respect for his memory was adopted and ordered spread upon the minutes:

"The members of the North Carolina Historical Commission have heard with profound regret of the death of their friend and associate, Hon. Thomas W. Blount. Mr. Blount became a member of this Commission by the unsolicited appointment of Governor Glenn in 1905. He was a constant attendant upon its sessions and gave freely and liberally of his time and thought to its work. He was deeply interested in the preservation of the history of North Carolina, with which he was very familiar and in which he always manifested a patriotic and intelligent pride. His courtesy to his associates on the Historical Commission was unfailing, his counsel wise and helpful, his interest in its work stimulating and inspiring. In removing him from our midst Death has deprived us individually

of a valued friend, the Historical Commission of a useful member, and the State of North Carolina of a devoted, serviceable and patriotic citizen."

His Excellency, Governor Kitchin, appointed Mr. Thomas M. Pittman to fill the unexpired term made vacant by the death of Mr. Blount. This term will come to a close, as will also that of Mr. M. C. S. Noble, on April 1, 1913.

Persons Employed by the Commission.

Since my last report the following persons have been in the regular employment of the Commission: R. D. W. Connor, Secretary; W. R. Edmonds, Archivist, December 1, 1910, to February 1, 1911; Mrs. W. S. Wilson, stenographer, December 1, 1910, to September 1, 1911; Miss Marjory Terrell, stenographer, since November 23, 1911; Miss Emily Taylor, in the repair and filing of manuscripts; William Weaver, janitor, December 1, 1910, to May 22, 1911; William Birdsall, janitor, since May 22, 1911. The following persons have been employed at various intervals for special work: Miss Bessie Trapier, stenographer during the absence of Mrs. Wilson, January 16, 1911, to February 6, 1911; Miss Alice Aycock, copyist, February 6, 1911, to March 11, 1911, October 9-14, 1911; Claude B. Denson, proofreading, November 23, 1911, to December 23, 1911; Marshall DeLancey Haywood, September 6, to November 6, 1912, compiling data for the Legislative Manual for 1913.

Preservation of the State Archives.

No further work has been done in the classification and filing of the public archives. On February 1, 1911, Mr. Edmonds, who was in charge of this work, resigned. Inasmuch as the General Assembly of 1911 passed an Act providing for the erection of a fireproof building in which the Historical Commission is to have better and more ample quarters than those now occupied, which will necessitate different methods of filing from those heretofore followed, it has been thought best not to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Edmonds' resignation until the new quarters are ready and occupied. Consequently that part of our work has been left substantially where it stood at the time of my last report.

Repair of Manuscripts.

Considerable work has been done, however, in the preparation of manuscripts for filing. In the summer of 1911 the Commission sent Miss Taylor to Washington to study in the Library of Congress the methods of repairing, mounting and filing of man-

uscripts there in the Manuscript Division. Miss Taylor was most cordially received by the officials of the department, who afforded her every facility for her work, and she has acquired a high degree of skill in it. She has, since her return to the office, pressed, repaired, and made ready, or partially ready for mounting, the following collections:

Bryan Grimes Collection.....	563 Mss.
E. J. Hale Collection.....	498 Mss.
Z. B. Vance Collection.....	165 Mss.
Miscellaneous	86 Mss.

Total..... 1,312 Mss.

Many of these manuscripts, particularly those of the E. J. Hale Collection, which had been badly burned and damaged by water, were in such condition that the most careful handling was injurious to them. Miss Taylor's work has reinforced and strengthened them so that no damage whatever can be done to them by any reasonable use. In our new quarters her department will be thoroughly equipped so that this important work can be continued under the best possible circumstances.

Accession of Manuscripts.

Several important additions have been made to the collections of the Commission during the past two years.

JOHN H. BRYAN MANUSCRIPTS.

February 15, 1912, Col. J. Bryan Grimes donated to the Commission 118 letters and other manuscripts to be added to the John H. Bryan Manuscripts. This collection now embraces 930 manuscripts.

DAVID L. SWAIN COLLECTION.

To this collection has been added 1,064 exceedingly interesting documents, sent to the Historical Commission by the Hon. Walter Clark, who was the Executor of Governor Swain's estate; and 76 letters and other documents loaned by the North Carolina Historical Society. These, added to the manuscripts previously received for this collection, bring the number of documents comprising it up to 2,205.

ZEBULON B. VANCE MANUSCRIPTS.

To this collection we have added nine documents. The North Carolina Historical Society donated five. To Mr. Gailard Hunt, Chief of the Manuscripts Division of the Library

of Congress, we are indebted for copies of (1) Pardon of Governor Vance issued by the President of the United States; (2) Vance's letter of acceptance; (3) Vance's oath of support to the Constitution of the United States. A letter from Governor Vance to Mr. W. P. Bynum was donated by Mr. Curtis Bynum.

WILLIAM A. GRAHAM MANUSCRIPTS.

Major William A. Graham, Commissioner of Agriculture, has donated to the Historical Commission 496 letters of his father, Governor William A. Graham. These letters form the nucleus of what promises to be one of the most valuable collections in the possession of the Historical Commission.

PETTIGREW MANUSCRIPTS.

The largest collection secured during the period covered by this report is the Pettigrew collection. This collection embraces the papers of Rt. Rev. Charles Pettigrew, Bishop-elect of North Carolina, Ebenezer Pettigrew, Member of Congress, and James Johnston Pettigrew, Brigadier-General C. S. A. It is of especial importance for its bearing on the agricultural and economic conditions of the State from 1800 to 1860. The collection, filling two large boxes, has not yet been classified, and consequently it is not possible now to say how many manuscripts it contains. It was donated to the Historical Commission by the Misses Pettigrew, of Tryon, N. C., the present representatives of the Pettigrew family in North Carolina.

CHARLES B. AYCOCK MANUSCRIPTS.

This is a considerable collection of the letters and other documents of the late Governor Aycock, donated to the Historical Commission by Mrs. Aycock. They have not yet been classified, and consequently no estimate can be made at present of their historical value.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A number of miscellaneous manuscripts of no little interest have been secured, as follows:

Archibald D. Murphey to Thomas Ruffin, relative to the appointment of a successor to Chief Justice John Louis Taylor. Copy donated by Col. Bennehan Cameron.

Copies of 34 letters of Gov. Samuel Johnston, the originals of which are in the library at "Hayes," near Edenton. Copied by permission of Mr. John Wood.

Copies of 16 letters of Dr. Elisha Mitchell, presented to the Historical Commission by Mrs. J. R. Chamberlain.

Four letters of P. G. Evans and one of Capt. R. H. Gray, C. S. A., donated by Mrs. Joseph M. Morehead, of Greensboro.

Copies of letters from B. F. Moore to W. W. Holden and W. W. Holden to B. F. Moore, in regard to Governor Vance's attitude toward the Peace Movement in 1863. The originals are in the possession of Mrs. Annie Moore Parker, of Raleigh.

Copy of a letter from the President of the United States (George Washington) to James Iredell, notifying Iredell of his appointment as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Donated by Judge H. G. Connor.

The following military maps were donated by Mrs. J. F. Minis, of Savannah, Georgia, made by her father, Major-General J. F. Gilmer, C. S. A., Chief of the Bureau of Engineers, a native of North Carolina:

- (1) Northampton, Hertford, and Bertie counties;
- (2) Brunswick County, showing the approaches to Wilmington;
- (3) Eastern North Carolina from the Neuse River and Wilmington and Weldon Railroad to the Atlantic Ocean;
- (4) North Carolina between the Neuse and the Tar Rivers;
- (5) Four maps of Eastern North Carolina.

Your Secretary purchased from J. K. Smith, of Grand Rapids, Mich., eight muster rolls of North Carolina troops in the Confederate Armies.

DE GRAFFENRIED MANUSCRIPTS.

In February, 1910, Dr. Julius Goebel, Professor in the University of Illinois, offered to the Historical Commission for publication two unpublished versions of Christopher de Graffenried's account of the planting of his German and Swiss colony in North Carolina in 1710, and of the founding of New Bern. These manuscripts, one in French, the other in German, were discovered by Dr. Goebel in Europe, and differ in many respects from the account published in Volume I of the Colonial Records of North Carolina. Dr. Goebel wrote as follows in regard to his versions:

1. There are in my versions about 86 closely written pages (foolscap, 14 x 9) of material not given in your Records. This does not include the valuable maps, picture and plans of New Bern.

2. This new, unpublished material contains, among other things—
 - a. Contract between Ludwig Michel and Chr. de Graffenried on the one hand and the members of the Bern Stock

Company on the other hand. This contract of twenty-three articles is a most important document, showing the amount of land contracted for and the rules governing association.

- b. Numerous letters of settlers, written home after the settlement had been established about a year and giving a detailed and most interesting picture of the affairs of the young colony. Nothing similar has, to my knowledge, come down to us from English, Dutch, or French settlers of the same or earlier periods. I consider them in a way priceless, because they were written by common people and not by clergymen or other learned persons. They are written in German (Swiss dialect).
- c. Eight pages containing his contract with the Lords Proprietors and his agreement with the Palatine.
- d. Discussion of his treaty with William Penn regarding the silver mines of the Potomack. Far more detailed than the account in your Records.
- e. Most interesting account of his voyage across the Atlantic.
- f. A number of pages giving plan of town of New Bern, description of inhabitants, religious affairs, trades represented, relations to the Indians, naming of the town in solemn assembly, etc., etc. This portion of my version is in itself of the utmost value, especially to the people of New Bern and their offspring.
- g. Discussion of Michel's plan of settling on the *Mississippi River*, or in Mexico; full account of his trip home, final efforts to be made with King George, etc., etc.

What I have enumerated here is only a part of the material *not* contained in your Colonial Records.

These valuable manuscripts Dr. Goebel offered to the Historical Commission for publication on the following terms: First, reimbursement to him of the \$250 which he had spent in having them copied and in having a translation of the French version made; Second, that he should have editorial supervision of the work. He submitted the manuscript to your Secretary for examination, and upon his recommendation the Commission accepted Dr. Goebel's offer. The editorial work has been completed, prefaced by an interesting "Historical Introduction" prepared under Dr. Goebel's supervision by Dr. H. V. Todd, of the University of Illinois, and the manuscript is now in possession of the Commission, ready to be sent to the press. It will be published as soon as other volumes now in press have been issued.

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS OF
NORTH CAROLINA.

This is the manuscript of a volume edited by Mr. Charles L. Coon on "The Private Schools of North Carolina: A Documentary History, 1790-1840," which will be a companion work to Mr. Coon's volumes on Public Education, covering the same period. The manuscript is in the possession of the Commission and will be published as soon as practicable.

RANDOLPH SHOTWELL PAPERS.

September 30, 1911, Dr. J. G. deR. Hamilton, of the University of North Carolina, wrote to the Secretary of the Commission that the family of Randolph Shotwell had placed in his hands with a view to editing for publication all of his autobiographical material, consisting of an account of his three years service in the Confederate Army, a diary covering the period of Reconstruction, including the three years spent by him in the Federal Penitentiary at Albany, N. Y., as a political prisoner, and his scrapbook kept while he was an editor in North Carolina. The collection also contains numerous letters of historical interest and value. Dr. Hamilton offered these papers to the Commission for publication, with himself as editor.

THOMAS RUFFIN MANUSCRIPTS.

On the same date Dr. Hamilton notified your Secretary that the family of Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin had placed in his hands for editing for publication the correspondence of Judge Ruffin, and offered these papers to the Commission for publication on the same terms as the Shotwell papers.

On August 8, 1911, both of Dr. Hamilton's letters were laid before the Commission, who instructed the Secretary to make a contract with Dr. Hamilton for the work. The contract has been made and Dr. Hamilton has begun his work.

Publications.

During the past two years the Commission has issued the following publications:

BULLETINS.

Bulletin No. 5, The Great Seal of the State of North Carolina, 1666-1909. By J. Bryan Grimes, Secretary of State. Paper. 52 pages. This is a reprint of this interesting bulletin, the first edition issued in 1909 having been exhausted.

Bulletin No. 9, Third Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission, December 1, 1908, to November 30, 1910. Paper. 56 pages.

Bulletin No. 10, Addresses delivered at the unveiling of the bust of Matt W. Ransom by the North Carolina Historical Commission in the Rotunda of the State Capitol, at Raleigh, January 11, 1911. Contents: (1) Introductory Address by J. Bryan Grimes, Chairman of the North Carolina Historical Commission; (2) Matt Whitaker Ransom, by Robert W. Winston; (3) A Personal Tribute, by A. H. Boyden, State Senator from the Twenty-sixth District; (4) Senator Ransom as a Private Citizen, by B. S. Gay, Representative in the General Assembly from Northampton County; (5) Address of Presentation by J. Bryan Grimes, Chairman of the North Carolina Historical Commission; (6) Address of Acceptance by Hon. W. W. Kitchin, Governor of North Carolina. Paper. 55 pages.

Bulletin No. 11, Proceedings of the Eleventh and Twelfth Sessions of the State Literary and Historical Association. Contents: (1) Minutes of the Eleventh Session of the Literary and Historical Association; (2) Annual Address of the President, Hon. Platt D. Walker, Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina; (3) "North Carolina Must Preserve Her Historical Records," by ex-Gov. Thomas J. Jarvis; (4) "North Carolina Bibliography of the Year," by D. H. Hill, member of the North Carolina Historical Commission; (5) Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association; (6) Annual Address of the President, "Prosperity and Patriotism," by E. K. Graham, Dean of the University of North Carolina; (7) "What Should a State History for the Public Schools Contain?" by C. Alphonso Smith, of the University of Virginia; (8) "The Constitution and Its Makers," by Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, United States Senator from Massachusetts; (9) "Books of the Year by North Carolinians," by D. H. Hill; (10) "Historical Activities in North Carolina," by R. D. W. Connor, Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission. Paper. 137 pages.

POCKET MANUAL.

A Pocket Manual of North Carolina for use by the members of the General Assembly of 1911. Contents: (1) An Official Register for the year 1911; (2) Officers and Members of the State Senate; (3) Senatorial Districts; (4) Senate Rules and Standing Committees; (5) Officers and Members of the House of Representatives; (6) House Rules and Standing Committees; (7) Sketches of the Several Departments, Bureaux and Commissions of the State Government; (8) Sketches of the Educational and Charitable Institutions of the State; (9) Election Returns for North Carolina, 1909 to 1910; (10) Constitution of the State of North Carolina; (11) Biographical Sketches of the

State Officials, Senators and Representatives in Congress, Supreme Court Justices, and Members of the General Assembly. Boards. 315 pages.

CORRESPONDENCE OF ARCHIBALD D. MURPHEY.

The letters, public papers, reports, historical and miscellaneous papers and addresses of Archibald DeBow Murphey. Compiled and edited by William Henry Hoyt. Two volumes. Cloth. (In press.)

Memorial Tablets.

At a meeting of the Commission held on January 10, 1912, the following resolution was adopted:

WHEREAS, The Board of Public Buildings and Grounds has granted to the North Carolina Historical Commission control over the placing of tablets, busts, statues and other memorials in the rotunda and corridors of the State Capitol: therefore, be it

Resolved, That no such tablet, bust, statue, or other memorial may be placed in the rotunda or corridors of the Capitol unless the material and design shall have first been submitted to and approved by the North Carolina Historical Commission.

Busts.

MATT W. RANSOM.

In my last report I called attention to the presentation to the Commission, by a number of his friends and admirers, of a handsome marble bust of the late Senator Matt W. Ransom. This bust was accepted by the Commission, and with appropriate exercises was unveiled and presented to the State January 11, 1911. It occupies the northwestern niche in the rotunda of the Capitol.

SAMUEL JOHNSTON.

Since my last report the Commission has secured for the State two more busts of eminent North Carolinians. One of these is the bust of Samuel Johnston, presented to the Commission by the Grand Lodge of Masons, of which lodge Samuel Johnston was the first Grand Master. No citizen of North Carolina ever rendered the State more distinguished service than Samuel Johnston. As a member of the General Assembly, as one of the Revolutionary Committee of Continental Correspondence, as a delegate to the first four Provincial Congresses, as a member of the Provincial Council, as a delegate to the Continental Congress, as Governor of North Carolina, as the first United States Senator from North Carolina, and as

President of the two Constitutional Conventions, at Hillsboro and Fayetteville, called to consider the ratification of the Federal Constitution, he won a place among the foremost of North Carolina statesmen.

This bust of Governor Johnston, with appropriate ceremonies, in the presence of the Grand Lodge of Masons, was presented to the State January 10, 1912. It occupies the northeastern niche in the rotunda of the Capitol.

JOHN MOTLEY MOREHEAD.

The fourth bust secured for the State by the Historical Commission is that of Governor John M. Morehead, presented to the Commission by his grandsons, Hon. John M. Morehead and Hon. Lindsay Patterson. Governor Morehead served conspicuously in the General Assembly, in the Constitutional Convention of 1835, as Governor, 1840-1844, as first president and builder of the North Carolina Railroad, as member of the Peace Convention of 1860 and as a member of the Confederate States Congress of 1860. This bust will be presented to the State on December 4, 1912.

I wish to call attention here to the following passage in Bulletin No. 1 of the Publications of the Historical Commission, issued in 1907:

"In the rotunda of the State Capitol there are eight niches, designed to hold the busts of eight eminent servants of the State. These niches were completed nearly three-quarters of a century ago, yet they are as empty today as on the day the Capitol was finished. Is it possible that no son of North Carolina, in all these years, has rendered such service to the State as to merit from the State the tribute of such a bust? The North Carolina Historical Commission, at least, will not admit it, and one of the objects to which its attention will be directed will be to fill these eight niches with handsome marble busts and to place on the walls of the Capitol memorial tablets commemorating the services of our forefathers."

Since these lines were written, five years ago, the North Carolina Historical Commission has been the means of filling the four niches on the first floor of the rotunda with handsome busts of William A. Graham, Matt W. Ransom, Samuel Johnston and John M. Morehead. These busts add immensely to the beauty of the rotunda, perpetuate the memories of four of the most distinguished men in our history, and stimulate patriotism and State pride. May we not hope that before another period of five years shall have passed, the four niches on the second floor of the rotunda will likewise contain busts or statues of other men, eminent in the history of the State and the Nation?

To Diffuse Information About North Carolina.

Among the duties imposed upon the Commission by the law creating it, is the duty "to diffuse knowledge in reference to the history and resources of North Carolina." The inadequate office room and equipment of the Commission have heretofore obstructed to a great extent this phase of our work. Nevertheless a great deal has been done in answer to inquiries received from all parts of the Union relative to the history of North Carolina. These inquiries have been too numerous and of too varied a character to enable me to classify them satisfactorily, and I can only say that a great deal of time and labor has been devoted to making investigations for a large number of correspondents.

Another phase of our work which is growing in extent each year is the investigations in genealogy, not merely for people in our own State but for people in every part of the United States who trace their ancestry back to North Carolina. Inquiries have been received from Oregon, Kansas, Alabama, District of Columbia, West Virginia, Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia, Texas, South Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Nebraska, Illinois, New Mexico, Indiana, Washington, and Connecticut, in addition to those from our own State. It has been necessary to refer these genealogical inquiries to persons not employed by the Commission, because our office force is not adequate to make the necessary investigations. This phase of our work can be considerably increased in scope and in importance after we have moved into the new quarters provided for us by the last Legislature, and ought to become a source of considerable revenue to the Commission.

Use of Our Collections by Students.

In addition to people who have used our collections through correspondence, a number of students have visited the offices of the Commission for investigations in person. We have had no facilities for this purpose and consequently have not encouraged such use of our collections. In the future, however, we shall have rooms fitted up for the use of students and will afford every facility for the use of the collections of the Commission by investigators. As soon as possible it is proposed to issue a calendar of the several collections in our possession in order that students and investigators may know what they may expect to find by visits here.

To Encourage the Study of North Carolina History.

The Act creating the Commission imposes upon it the duty of encouraging the study of North Carolina History in the

schools of the State and by her people generally. It is interesting to know that very great progress has been made along this line within the past few years. There has never been at any previous time such a general interest in historical activities among the people of the State. Your Secretary has endeavored to encourage this interest in every way possible. At the request of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction he has prepared the programs of exercises for the celebration of North Carolina Day in the public schools in 1911 and in 1912. The program of 1911 was devoted to the study of local and county history; that of 1912 to the study of the life and services of Charles Brantley Aycock. As an evidence of the general interest now taken in the history of the State, it may not be out of place to mention that he has delivered by invitation during the past two years thirty-one public lectures on historical topics before the students of the State Normal and Industrial College, the University Summer School, Meredith College, East Carolina Teachers' Training School, the North Carolina A. & M. College for the Colored Race, several city graded schools, the public school teachers of Guilford County, and on a number of special occasions.

Summary.

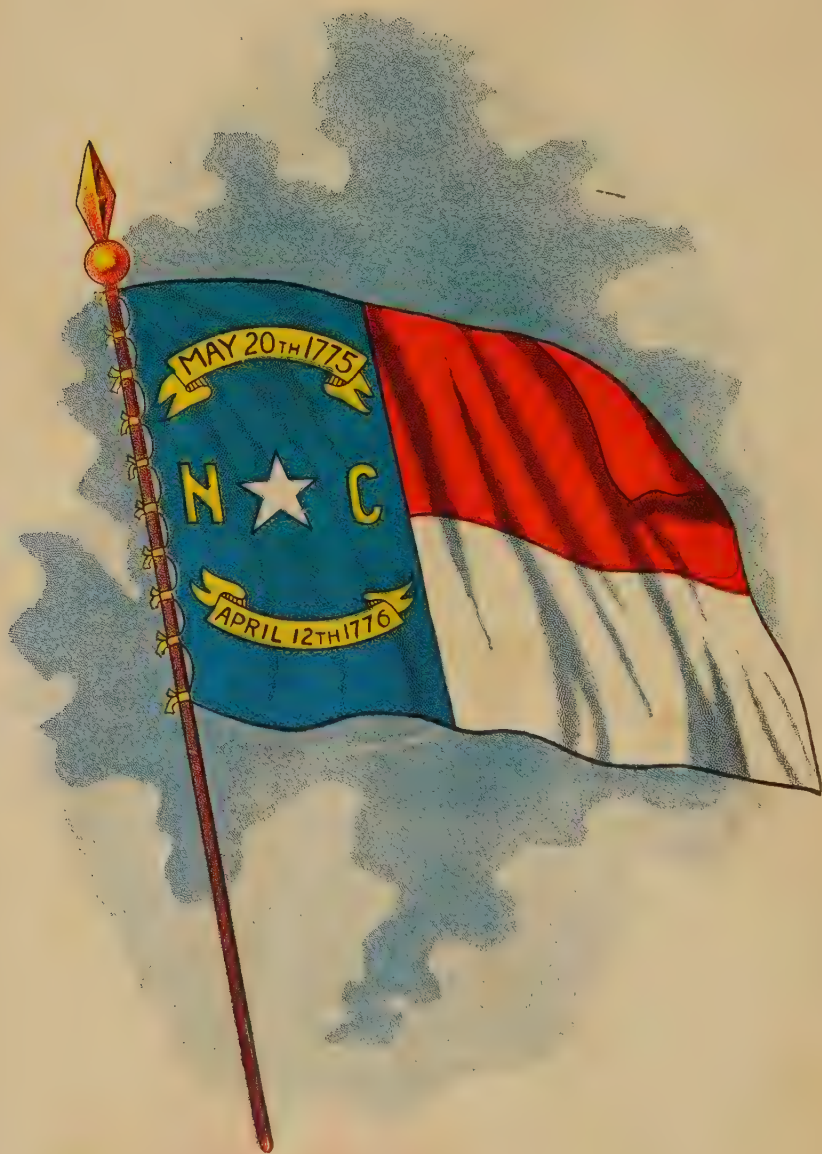
Summarizing this report the following features of our work during the past two years seem to be of especial interest:

1. We have established a department for the repair and mounting of manuscripts.
2. We have received valuable accessions to the John H. Bryan, David L. Swain and Zebulon B. Vance collections.
3. We have secured three valuable new collections,—*i. e.*, the Graham, Pettigrew and Aycock papers.
4. We have made arrangements for the publication of the papers of Christopher de Graffenried, Randolph Shotwell, Chief Justice Ruffin, Archibald D. Murphey, and a documentary history of the private schools of the State from 1790 to 1840.
5. We have published four Bulletins and a Manual of North Carolina.
6. We have secured for the State and erected in the Capitol busts of Matt W. Ransom, Samuel Johnston and John M. Morehead.
7. We have continued to stimulate interest in the history of the State among our own people and have assisted a large number of students, both within and without the State, in their investigations into the history of North Carolina.

Respectfully submitted,

R. D. W. CONNOR,
Secretary.

RALEIGH, N. C., December 19, 1912.



THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE FLAG

BY
W. R. EDMONDS

Superseded by revision
issued in 1942

RALEIGH, N. C.
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING Co., STATE PRINTERS
1913

The North Carolina Historical Commission

J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Chairman.*

W. J. PEELE.

M. C. S. NOBLE.

D. H. HILL.

THOMAS M. PITTMAN.

R. D. W. CONNOR, *Secretary*, Raleigh.

Introductory Note

The North Carolina Historical Commission receives numerous inquiries concerning the history of the State flag of North Carolina and the significance of the dates which appear on it. In response to these inquiries the Historical Commission has issued this bulletin. It was prepared in 1911 by Mr. W. R. Edmonds, at that time a member of the staff of the Historical Commission, now an attorney of High Point. The sketch was afterwards published in *The University of North Carolina Magazine*, new series, vol. 29, No. 3, from which it is here reprinted, with copies of recent acts of the General Assembly relating to the State flag, and copies of the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," May 20, 1775, the Halifax Resolutions of April 12, 1776, and the Ordinance of Secession, May 20, 1861.

R. D. W. CONNOR,

Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

The State Flag of North Carolina

The flag is an emblem of great antiquity and has commanded respect and reverence from practically all nations from earliest times. History traces it to divine origin, the early peoples of the earth attributing to it strange, mysterious, and supernatural powers. Indeed, our first recorded references to the standard and the banner, of which our present flag is but a modified form, are from sacred rather than from secular sources. We are told that it was around the banner that the prophets of old rallied their armies and under which the hosts of Israel were led to war, believing, as they did, that it carried with it divine favor and protection.

Since that time all nations and all peoples have had their flags and emblems, though the ancient superstition regarding their divine merits and supernatural powers has disappeared from among civilized peoples. The flag now, the world over, possesses the same meaning and has a uniform significance to all nations wherever found. It stands as the symbol of strength and unity, representing the national spirit and patriotism of the people over whom it floats. In both lord and subject, the ruler and the ruled, it commands respect, inspires patriotism, and instills loyalty both in peace and in war.

In this country we have a national flag which stands as the emblem of our strength and unity as a nation, a living representation of our national spirit and honor. In addition to our national flag, each of the different States in the Union has a "State flag" symbolic of its own individuality and domestic ideals. Every State in the American Union has a flag of some kind, each expressive of some particular trait, or commemorative of some historical event, of the people over which it floats. The flags of most of the States, however, consist of the coat of arms of that State upon some suitably colored field. It is said that the first State flag of North Carolina was built on this model, but so far as we can learn from the records the first legislation on this subject establishing and recognizing a "State flag" was in the year 1861.

The constitutional convention of 1861, which declared for secession from the Union, adopted what it termed a State flag. This existed until 1885. On May 20, 1861, the Convention adopted the resolution of secession which declared the State out of the Union. On that same day Col. John D. Whitford, a member of the Convention from Craven County, introduced the following ordinance, which was passed and referred to a select committee of seven:

"Be it ordained that the flag of this State shall be a blue field with a white V thereon, and a star, incircling which shall be the words 'Surgit astrum, May 20th, 1775.'"

Colonel Whitford was made chairman of the committee to which this ordinance was referred. The committee secured the aid and advice of William Jarl Brown, an artist of Raleigh. Brown prepared and submitted a model to this committee. And this model was adopted by the convention on the 22d day of June, 1861. It will be observed that the Brown model, to be hereafter explained, was vastly different from the one originally proposed by Colonel Whitford. Here is the ordinance as it appears on the Journals of the Convention:

"AN ORDINANCE IN RELATION TO A STATE FLAG.

"Be it ordained by this Convention, and it is hereby ordained by the authority of the same, That the Flag of North Carolina shall consist of a red field with a white star in center, and with the inscription, above the star, in a semi-circular form, of 'May 20th, 1775,' and below the star, in a semi-circular form, of 'May 20th, 1861.' That there shall be two bars of equal width, and the length of the field shall be equal to the bar, the width of the field being equal to both bars; the first bar shall be blue, and the second shall be white; and the length of the flag shall be one-third more than its width. (Ratified the 22d day of June, 1861.)"

This State flag, adopted in 1861, is said to have been issued to the first ten regiments of State troops during the summer of that year and was borne by them throughout the war, being the only flag, except the National and Confederate colors, used by the North Carolina troops during the Civil War. This flag existed until 1885, when the Legislature of that year adopted a new model.

¹Journal of the Convention of 1861, p. 153.

As just stated, the Legislature of 1885 adopted a new State flag. The bill, which was introduced by General Johnstone Jones on the 5th of February, 1885, passed its final reading one month later after little or no debate. This act reads as follows:

"AN ACT TO ESTABLISH A STATE FLAG.

"The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

"SECTION 1. That the flag of North Carolina shall consist of a blue union, containing in the center thereof a white star with the letter N in gilt on the left and the letter C in gilt on the right of said star, the circle containing the same to be one-third the width of the union.

"SEC. 2. That the fly of the flag shall consist of two equally proportioned bars; the upper bar to be red, the lower bar to be white; that the length of the bars horizontally shall be equal to the perpendicular length of the union, and the total length of the flag shall be one-third more than its width.

"SEC. 3. That above the star in the center of the union there shall be a gilt scroll in semi-circular form, containing in black letters this inscription: 'May 20th, 1775,' and that below the star there shall be a similar scroll containing in black letters the inscription: 'April 12th, 1776.'

"In the General Assembly read three times and ratified this 9th day of March, A. D. 1885."

Perhaps, it may be of interest to make a passing reference to the significance of the dates found on each flag. The first date, "May 20th, 1775," refers to the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence,¹ the authenticity of which we shall not here stop either to doubt or to defend. The second date appearing on the State flag of 1861 is that of "May 20th, 1861." This date commemorated the secession of the State from the Union;² but as the cause of secession was defeated this date no longer represented anything after the Civil War. So when a new flag was adopted in 1885, this date was removed, and another, "April 12th, 1776," took its place. This date commemorates the adoption of the Halifax Resolutions³—a document that places the Old North State in the very front rank, both in point of time and in spirit, among those that demanded unconditional freedom and absolute independence from foreign power. This doc-

¹See p. 10.

²See p. 13.

³See p. 14.

ument stands out as one of the great landmarks in the annals of North Carolina history.

Since 1885 there has been no change in our State flag. For the most part, it has remained unknown and a stranger to the good people of our State. However, as we become more intelligent, and, therefore, more patriotic and public spirited, the emblem of the Old North State will assume a station of greater prominence among our people. One hopeful sign of this increased interest was the Act passed by the Legislature of 1907, requiring the State flag to be floated from all State institutions, public buildings and courthouses.¹ In addition to this, many public and private schools, fraternal orders and other organizations now float the State flag. This is right. The people of the State should become acquainted with the emblem of that government to which they owe allegiance and from which they secure protection.

¹See p. 10.

An Act to Promote Loyalty and Greater Respect for the Sovereignty of the State¹

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That for the purpose of promoting greater loyalty and respect to the State, and inasmuch as a special act of the Legislature has adopted an emblem of our government known as the North Carolina State flag, that it is meet and proper that it shall be given greater prominence.

SEC. 2. That the board of trustees or managers of the several State institutions and public buildings shall provide a North Carolina flag, of such dimensions and material as they may deem best, and the same shall be displayed from a staff upon the top of each and every such building at all times except during inclement weather, and upon the death of any State officer or any prominent citizen the flag shall be put at half-mast until the burial of such person shall have taken place.

SEC. 3. That the Board of County Commissioners of the several counties in this State shall likewise authorize the procuring of a North Carolina flag, to be displayed either on a staff upon the top, or draped behind the Judge's stand, in each and every courthouse in the State, and that the State flag shall be displayed at each and every term of Court held, and on such other public occasions as the Commissioners may deem proper.

SEC. 4. That no State flag shall be allowed in or over any building here mentioned that does not conform to section five thousand three hundred and twenty-one of the Revisal of one thousand nine hundred and five.²

SEC. 5. That this act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

. In the General Assembly read three times, and ratified this the 9th day of March, A. D. 1907.

¹Chap. 833, Public Laws of 1907.

²See p. 10.

Chapter 114, Revisal of 1905

SECTION 5321. STATE FLAG. The flag of North Carolina shall consist of a blue union, containing in the center thereof a white star with the letter "N" in gilt on the left and the letter "C" in gilt on the right of said star, the circle containing the same to be one-third the width of said union. The fly of the flag shall consist of two equally proportioned bars, the upper bar to be red, the lower bar to be white; the length of the bars horizontally shall be equal to the perpendicular length of the union, and the total length of the flag shall be one-third more than its width. Above the star in the center of the union there shall be a gilt scroll in semi-circular form, containing in black letters this inscription: "May 20th, 1775," and below the star there shall be a similar scroll containing in black letters the inscription: "April 12th, 1776."

The "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence"

May 20, 1775

1. Resolved, that whosoever directly or indirectly abetted or in any way, form or manner countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights as claimed by Great Britain is an enemy to this country, to America and to the inherent and inalienable rights of man.

2. Resolved, that we the citizens of Mecklenburg County do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the mother country and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown and abjure all political connection, contract, or association with that nation who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties and inhumanly shed the blood of American patriots at Lexington.

3. Resolved, that we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people, are and of right ought to be a sovereign and self-governing association under the control of no power other than that of our God and the General Government of the Congress, to the maintenance of which independence we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual coöperation, our lives, our fortunes and our most sacred honor.

4. Resolved, that as we now acknowledge the existence and control of no law or legal officer, civil or military, within this county, we do hereby ordain and adopt as a rule of life all, each and every of our former laws—wherein nevertheless the Crown of Great Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities, or authority therein.

5. Resolved, that it is further decreed that all, each and every Military Officer in this county is hereby reinstated in his former command and authority, he acting conformably to these regulations. And that every member present of this delegation shall henceforth be a civil officer, viz, a justice of the peace in the character of a "committee man" to issue process, hear and determine all matters of controversy according to said adopted

laws and to preserve peace, union and harmony in said county, and to use every exertion to spread the love of country and fire of freedom throughout America, until a more general and organized government be established in this Province.

Ordinance of Secession

May 20, 1861

An ordinance dissolving the union between the State of North Carolina and the other States united with her under the compact of Government, Entitled "the Constitution of the United States."

We, the people of the State of North Carolina in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by the State of North Carolina in the Convention of 1789, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified and adopted; and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly, ratifying and adopting amendments to the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, rescinded and abrogated.

We do further declare and ordain, that the Union now subsisting between the State of North Carolina and the other States, under the title of "The United States of America," is hereby dissolved, and that the State of North Carolina is in full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent State.

Halifax Independence Resolutions

April 12, 1776

It appears to your committee¹ that, pursuant to the plan concerted by the British Ministry for subjugating America, the King and Parliament of Great Britain have usurped a power over the persons and properties of the people unlimited and uncontrolled; and disregarding their humble petitions for peace, liberty and safety, have made divers legislative acts, denouncing war, famine, and every species of calamity, against the Continent in general. That the British fleets and armies have been, and still are daily employed in destroying the people, and committing the most horrid devastations on the country. That Governors in different Colonies have declared protection to slaves, who should imbrue their hands in the blood of their masters. That the ships belonging to America are declared prizes of war, and many of them have been violently seized and confiscated. In consequence of all which multitudes of the people have been destroyed, or from easy circumstances reduced to the most lamentable distress.

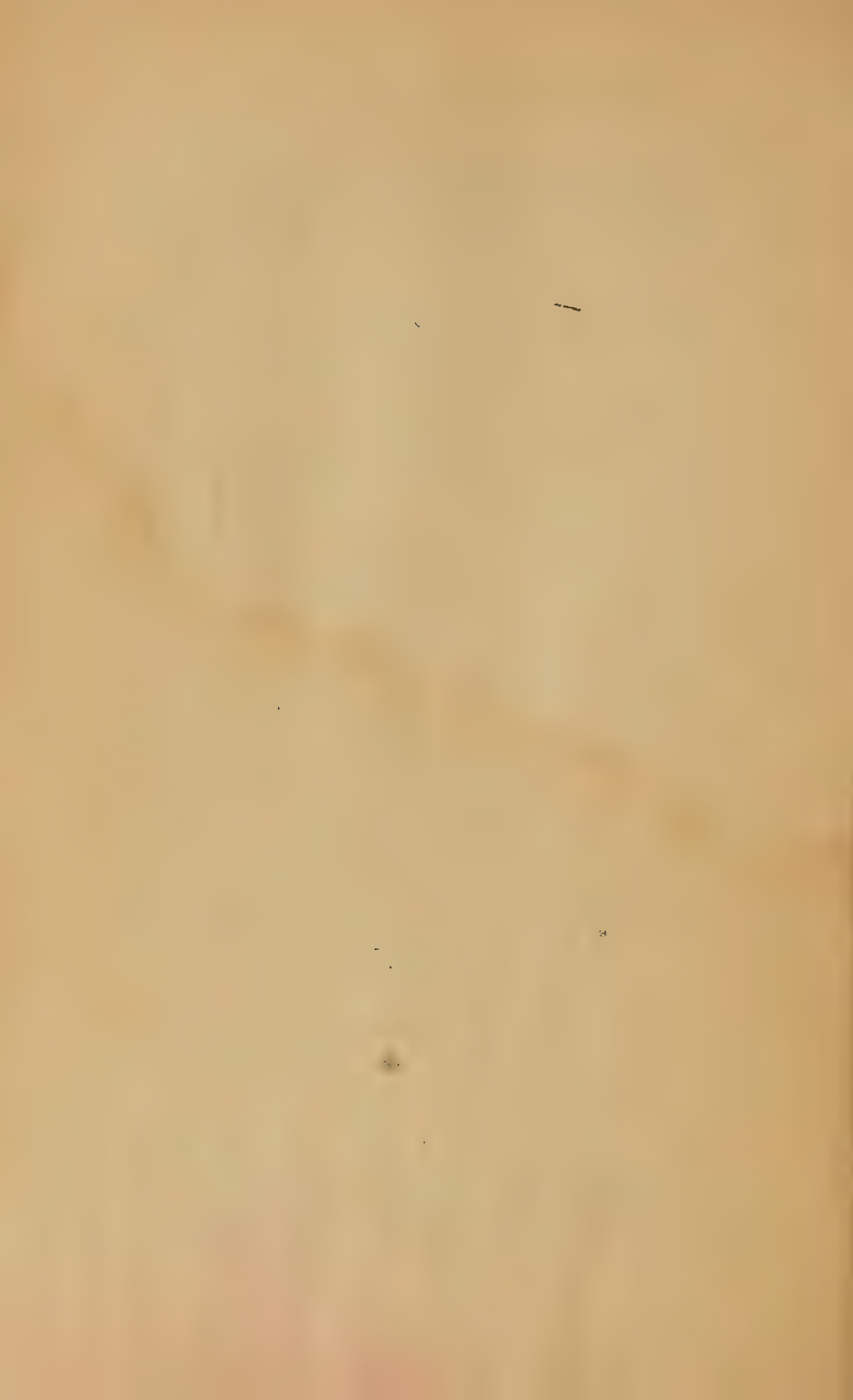
And, whereas, the moderation hitherto manifested by the United Colonies and their sincere desire to be reconciled to the mother country on constitutional principles, have procured no mitigation of the aforesaid wrongs and usurpations, and no hopes remain of obtaining redress by those means alone which have been hitherto tried, your committee are of opinion that the House should enter into the following resolve, to wit:

Resolved, that the delegates for this Colony in the Continental Congress be empowered to concur with the delegates of the other Colonies in declaring Independency, and forming foreign alliances, reserving to this Colony the sole and exclusive right

¹At the session of the Provincial Congress, April 8, 1776, the following committee was appointed, viz:

Cornelius Harnett, Allen Jones, Thomas Burke, Abner Nash, John Kinchen, Thomas Person and Thomas Jones, "to take into consideration the usurpations and violences attempted and committed by the King and Parliament of Britain against America, and the further measures to be taken for frustrating the same, and for the better defense of this Province." Their report, known as the "Halifax Resolutions," was submitted to Congress April 12, 1776, and unanimously adopted. It was the first step taken by any of the Colonies in favor of a Declaration of Independence.

of forming a constitution and laws for this Colony, and of appointing delegates from time to time (under the direction of a general representation thereof), to meet the delegates of the other Colonies for such purposes as shall be hereafter pointed out.



PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESSES

OF THE

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION

OF THE

State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

RALEIGH

NOVEMBER 20-21, 1913

Compiled by
R. D. W. CONNOR
Secretary

RALEIGH, N. C.
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING CO., STATE PRINTERS
1913

The North Carolina Historical Commission

J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Chairman*, Raleigh.

W. J. PEELE, Raleigh.

D. H. HILL, Raleigh.

THOMAS M. PITTMAN, Henderson.

M. C. S. NOBLE, Chapel Hill.

R. D. W. CONNOR, *Secretary*, Raleigh.

Officers of the State Literary and Historical Association

1913.

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First Vice-PresidentMRS. MARGARET BUSBEE SHIPP, Raleigh.
Second Vice-PresidentO. W. BLACKNALL, Kittrell.
Third Vice-President
Secretary-TreasurerR. D. W. CONNOR, Raleigh.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

W. P. FEW.	FRANK NASH.
THOMAS P. HARRISON.	EDWARD K. GRAHAM.
CLARENCE POE.	W. K. BOYD.

1914.

PresidentARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Chapel Hill.
First Vice-PresidentMISS MARY SHANNON SMITH, Raleigh.
Second Vice-PresidentFRANK NASH, Hillsboro.
Third Vice-PresidentW. B. McKoy, Wilmington.
Secretary-TreasurerR. D. W. CONNOR, Raleigh.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

W. K. BOYD.	CLARENCE POE.
JAMES F. ROYSTER.	MAURICE G. FULTON.
MRS. MARGARET BUSBEE SHIPP.	

PURPOSES OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

"The collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history;

"The encouragement of public and school libraries;

"The establishment of an historical museum;

"The inculcation of a literary spirit among our people;

"The correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and—

"The engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generation."

ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP—MEMBERSHIP DUES.

All persons interested in its purposes are invited to become members of the Association. There are two classes of members: "Regular Members," paying one dollar a year, and "Sustaining Members," paying five dollars a year.

RECORD OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

(Organized October, 1900.)

<i>Fiscal Years.</i>	<i>Presidents.</i>	<i>Secretaries.</i>	<i>Paid up Membership.</i>
1900-1901	WALTER CLARK.....	ALEX. J. FEILD.....	150
1901-1902	HENRY G. CONNOR.....	ALEX. J. FEILD.....	139
1902-1903	WILLIAM LOUIS POTEAT....	GEORGE S. FRAPS.....	73
1903-1904	C. ALPHONSO SMITH.....	CLARENCE POE.....	127
1904-1905	ROBERT W. WINSTON.....	CLARENCE POE.....	109
1905-1906	CHARLES B. AYCOCK.....	CLARENCE POE.....	185
1906-1907	W. D. PRUDEN.....	CLARENCE POE.....	301
1907-1908	ROBERT BINGHAM.....	CLARENCE POE.....	273
1908-1909	JUNIUS DAVIS.....	CLARENCE POE.....	311
1909-1910	PLATT D. WALKER.....	CLARENCE POE.....	440
1910-1911	EDWARD K. GRAHAM.....	CLARENCE POE.....	425
1911-1912	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	CLARENCE POE.....	479
1912-1913	W. P. FEW.....	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	476
1913-1914	ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.....	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	**

AWARDS OF THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP.

- 1905—JOHN CHARLES MCNEILL, for poems later reprinted in book form as "Songs, Merry and Sad." (Presentation by Theodore Roosevelt.)
- 1906—EDWIN MIMS, for "Life of Sidney Lanier." (Presentation by Fabius H. Busbee.)
- 1907—KEMP PLUMMER BATTLE, for "History of the University." (Presentation by Francis D. Winston.)
- 1908—SAMUEL A'COURT ASHE, "History of North Carolina." (Presentation by Thomas Nelson Page.)
- 1909—CLARENCE POE, for "A Southerner in Europe." (Presentation by Ambassador James Bryce.)
- 1910—R. D. W. CONNOR, for "Cornelius Harnett: An Essay in North Carolina History." (Presentation by T. W. Bickett.)
- 1911—ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, for "Bernard Shaw." (Presentation by Lee S. Overman.)
- 1912—CLARENCE POE, for "Where Half the World is Waking Up." (Presentation by Walter H. Page.)
- 1913—HORACE KEPHART, for "Our Southern Highlanders." (Presentation by Maurice G. Fulton.)

WHAT THE ASSOCIATION HAS ACCOMPLISHED FOR THE STATE— SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENTS INAUGURATED BY IT.

1. Rural school libraries.
2. "North Carolina Day" in the schools.
3. The North Carolina Historical Commission.
4. Vance statue in Statuary Hall (to be erected soon).
5. Fire-proof State Library and Hall of Records.
6. Civil War battlefields marked to show North Carolina's record.
7. North Carolina's war record defended and war claims vindicated.
8. The Patterson Memorial Cup.
9. Lecture Extension Work started in leading cities and towns.
10. A program of Library Extension Work begun.

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PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESSES
OF THE
FOURTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION
OF THE
**State Literary and Historical Association
of North Carolina**

Raleigh, November 20-21, 1913

EVENING SESSION, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 20.

The fourteenth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina was called to order in the auditorium of Meredith College on Thursday evening, November 20, 1913, at 8 p. m., by President William Preston Few.

President Few delivered his inaugural address as President, his subject being "The Value of Literature in an Industrial Society."

At the conclusion of his address the President stated that it had been customary for the Association at each of its annual sessions to have an address from some native North Carolinian who had attained distinction in some other State. Among the native Carolinians, then residents of other States, who had addressed the Association in the past, he mentioned Hon. Hannis Taylor, formerly American Minister to Spain, Dr. C. Alphonso Smith, formerly Roosevelt Professor in the University of Berlin, and Hon. Walter H. Page, editor of "The World's Work," now American Ambassador to the Court of St. James. President Few then presented Dr. Herman Harrell Horne, a native of Johnston County, a graduate of the University of North Carolina, now Professor of the History of Education and Philosophy in the University of New York, and distinguished as a lecturer and writer on philosophy and education. Dr. Horne addressed the Association on "A New Method of Historical Investigation."

Following Dr. Horne's address was the announcement of the award of the "William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup," presented each year by the Association to "that resident of the State who, during the twelve months from September the first of the previous year to September the first of the year of the award, has displayed, either in prose or poetry, the greatest excellence and highest literary skill and genius." President

Few stated that Dr. Maurice G. Fulton, of Davidson College, would present the cup on behalf of the Association.

In announcing the award Dr. Fulton said:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am sure that my audience will think that I shall best discharge my duty upon this occasion if I confine my remarks to the briefest possible compass. The Patterson Cup, I may say by way of explanation, is given annually for the best piece of literary work by a resident of the State of North Carolina. The committee in charge of the award is composed of the President of the State Literary and Historical Society, the Professor of History in the University, the Professor of History in Trinity, the Professor of English Literature in the University, the Professor of English Literature in the A. and M., the Professor of English Literature in Davidson, and the Professor of English Literature in Wake Forest. Since the establishment of the Cup eight years ago by Mrs. J. Lindsay Patterson of Winston-Salem, as a memorial to her distinguished father, it has become, through its award to such of our fellow citizens as McNeill, Mims, Battle, Ashe, Poe, Connor, Henderson, and Poe for the second time, understood to be the highest honor bestowed in our State upon such of her sons and daughters as seek to add glory to themselves and to their State in the field of letters. Most assuredly our appreciation of what Mrs. Patterson has done among us for the encouragement of a creative literary spirit and a sense for true art becomes as the years pass by not less but deeper.

In the past those who have been distinguished by the award of the Patterson Cup have been known to us. They have been native North Carolinians, I believe, with the single exception of Mims, and he had been of us so long that we thought of him as one of us. I am glad that such has been the history of the Cup because it seems to me to contradict a statement heard sometimes in certain quarters concerning North Carolina: that she has given so freely of her gifted children to the intellectual life of other States that she has impoverished herself. The history of the Patterson Cup challenges such an opinion. But this year the Cup goes, not to one who has been among us from his youth up, but to one who has but recently come hither, to one who will be a stranger even by name to most of you. It is therefore becoming that I should introduce him to his fellow North Carolinians with some account of his career.

Nine years ago he came among us, but chose to come so quietly and to live so retiredly that not until this fall did we know that he was here. He had been born in another of the thirteen original commonwealths—the Keystone State; he had tarried for awhile in the east and the middle west; he had seen the life of the old countries of Europe before he came to this State and took up his abode in that strange and fascinating westward part of our State, a part of that unique mountain section of our country, which he delights to call Appalachia. There were several reasons for his coming. In the first place, he was a man with an inborn love of the romantic and the wild, and he yearned for a strange land and a people that had the charm of originality. Furthermore, he had a passion for early American history, and he thought to see for himself among the backward people of Appalachia what life must have been among our pioneer ancestors. In addition to

these motives, he wanted to enjoy the free life of the open, matching his woodcraft against the forces of Nature. And so he came into far-away Swain County under the shadow of the Great Smoky Mountains and settled himself in an abandoned cabin on the Little Fork of Sugar Fork of Hazel Creek, where for three years he lived alone in the pursuit of those purposes that brought him thither. In subsequent years he has lived here and there among the mountains.

Thus he came among us, and has lived among our mountain folk until he knows them and their ways most intimately. He has not merely paid them casual visits, but he has lived among them as one of them. He has eaten with them, he has slept with them, he has hunted with them, he has aided them in times of illness or injury, he has been with them in various crises of their lives, and living thus intimately with them he has been able to pierce their mask of reserve until he knows the mountaineer even better than the mountaineer knows himself.

Out of this experience has come a book written with the purpose of bringing the outside world into better report with these "castaways of our sea of mountains." Viewing them sympathetically upon a background of knowledge of our early historical conditions, he has given us a picture of this group of our population that is characterized by the soundest sense and the keenest suggestiveness. In his book he paints the mountaineer not sensationally, not sentimentally, but as he is, showing the shadows as well as the high lights. On the whole, it is a picture to excite admiration and good hope, and we feel as we read the book the call to us of the plains not to let such sterling qualities of manliness, that our nation can ill afford to lose, go to waste, but to give ourselves readily to their conservation and development. Truly a book of great service not merely to us who live in a State which embraces a large portion of this people, but of service to the whole nation!

And, now, having told you something of the writer and of his book, I must not trespass longer on your impatience for names. Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me pleasure to announce the award of the Patterson Cup for the current year to Mr. Horace Kephart, of Bryson City, on account of his lately published book, "Our Southern Highlanders."

I am confident that you will feel the keenest regret that Mr. Kephart is unable to be here and receive the Cup. But he has sent a word of greeting which I am sure you will be glad to hear. In a recent letter to our Secretary he writes:

"My appreciation of this honor is too deep to be easily expressed. It would give me the greatest pleasure to be present at your meeting next Thursday night, to receive the cup in person and meet the members of the Association; but I am confined to the house by illness, and so can only send cordial greetings and thankful acknowledgments. Certainly I shall try to visit Raleigh in future and pay my respects to the officers and members of the Association."

Let us hope that it will not be long before Mr. Kephart comes down among us from his "back of beyond" to show us further what we may do for the development and enlightenment of Appalachia. And when, back among the mountains and their people, he looks upon this Cup, I trust

that it may remind him of the esteem in which we "outlanders" hold his interpretation of the Southern Highlanders.

At the conclusion of Dr. Fulton's remarks, President Few read the following telegram:

W. P. FEW, NEW YORK, N. Y., November 20, 1913.

President State Literary and Historical Association, Raleigh, N. C.

Accept my best wishes for the success of the fourteenth annual meeting of your splendid Association and my regrets that I can not be present. The Association is doing a great work for North Carolina.

GEORGE GORDON BATTLE.

The President then declared the meeting adjourned.

Following the regular meeting, the members of the Association and their guests attended a reception at the Governor's Mansion.

MORNING SESSION, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

The session was called to order by President Few in the Hall of the House of Representatives, at 11 a. m.

The President presented Hon. Walter A. Montgomery, who read a paper entitled, "The Relations between the Government of the Confederate States of America and the State Government of North Carolina."

Following Judge Montgomery's paper, Dr. J. G. deR. Hamilton, of the University of North Carolina, presented a paper on "The State Convention of 1865."

The President then declared the meeting open for business. It was moved and carried that the President appoint a committee of five to nominate officers for the ensuing year with instructions to report at the evening session. President Few appoint Robert W. Winston, Maurice G. Fulton, W. K. Boyd, Mrs. Margaret Busbee Shipp, and Henry A. London.

The Secretary then laid before the Association the following report from the Executive Committee:

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held November 15, the Secretary was instructed to report to the Association at its coming session the following action of the Executive Committee:

It was moved and carried that a resolution be presented to the Association for consideration at its coming session, inviting the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society, the North Carolina Sons of the Revolution, and the State Library Association, in the future to hold their annual sessions at the same time and place as the sessions of the State Literary and Historical Association, leaving to each Association the arrangement of its own program.

It was moved and carried that plans be proposed to the Association for consideration at its coming session, looking to the publication, jointly with the North Carolina Historical Commission, of a quarterly journal.

After discussion, it was moved and carried that a committee of three be appointed to confer with the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society, the Society of the Sons of the Revolution, the North Carolina Library Association, and other kindred organizations with a view to their holding joint sessions with the State Literary and Historical Association, and to report the result of such conferences at the next session of this Association.

On this committee President Few appointed R. D. W. Connor, Marshall DeLancey Haywood, and Louis R. Wilson.

It was also moved and carried that a committee of three be appointed to look into the advisability of the Association's issuing a quarterly publication in conjuncture with the North Carolina Historical Commission, that said committee should report to the Executive Committee, and that the Executive Committee be given power to act.

The President announced the following appointments to this committee: J. G. deR. Hamilton, Frank Nash, and W. K. Boyd.

The Secretary then laid before the Association a communication from Miss Lida T. Rodman, of Washington, N. C., presenting to the Association photographs of certain pages of the Memorandum Book of Col. Jacob Blount, of Blount Hall, Craven County, 1771, containing interesting references to the battle of Alamance. Miss Rodman's communication was as follows:

EXTRACTS FROM THE MEMORANDUM BOOK OF COLONEL JACOB BLOUNT, 1771.

These pages are from the note-book of Col. Jacob Blount, of Blount Hall, Craven County, dated 1771-73. The book was found with a package of his letters, and another note-book containing entries dated 1764-65-66-67, marked on outside "papers of my father's" and signed "John Gray Blount." The entries are interesting and valuable as they give lists of certain militia companies that served under Governor Tryon at the battle of Alamance, May 16, 1771. Jacob Blount acted as paymaster for the companies mentioned, and he with one, or more, of his sons enlisted and served in that battle.

Colonel Joseph Leech, of Craven County, was in command of these troops. The spirit of Independence had not awakened at the time of the war of the Regulators, and these men who served under Governor Tryon, in 1771, went as Englishmen, upholding the authority of their Sovereign, the King of England.

Page 1, of the photographs, shows the names of the men enlisted in Mr. Blackledge's company. It also shows a partial list of names listed under Captain Johnston's company, April 11, 1771. Page 2 gives Captain Samuel Smyth's company listed by Colonel Cogdell. Page 3 says "Colonel Leech advanced the money. Charles Crawford has received of Colonel Leech 50 pounds to list men."

Page 4 is quite interesting. The heading reads thus: "A memorandum of monies pade to the troops that the Governor ordered for their part of the plonder taken from the Regulators the day the Battle was fought at Grate Alamance, May 16, 1771—Which was 2-6 Each man—" (2 pounds 6 shillings).

Then follows a list of the men so paid, 38 in number. The heading to page 5 is an entry as follows: "Sent to Capt. Holt's 6 Shirts, 2 jackets, 3 prs Briches, 3 prs thread Stockings, 5 Bands, one thread Handerchief, to be washt. May 17, 1771." And on page 7 this entry occurs, "Pade Mr. Holt for washing 6 shillings."

Other entries are, "paid Cogdell for his part for finding his horse; lent Richard Cogdell at the Moraveens Town Six pounds to pay for a mare; June 8th 1771 Pade for milk and butter 2 shillings at—woods then we mounted Quarter. Paid at Hillsborough for one Ham 6s-6d; paid Smyth at Hillsborough for mending my cart."

From these and other entries it is seen that the militia journeyed to Alamance partly on horesback, and that Jacob Blount took his own cart for use of the militia, probably carrying supplies in it. In those days the possessor of a cart or a wagon was fortunate. Wagons were scarce and so difficult to secure that during the Revolution, some years later, wagons had to be brought from Pennsylvania in order to move a lot of clothing from Edenton to the army.

Jacob Blount kept the account, and by order of Governor Tryon acted as paymaster to that part of the expedition. Stops were made, on the return, at Hillsborough, and at Salem, the "Moraveens Town." Captain Holt had some washing done for them, which from the articles specified indicates that they had few, if any, military trappings, but went in their everyday clothes,—jackets, knee breeches, thread stockings, bands (for neck and wrist) and thread handkerchiefs.

Another entry not shown in the photographs shows that guns were scarce. It says "Rec'd field guns from the Governor and let [lent] to the following—Charles Johnson; James Rigba; George Browning; William Archer, James Wigans; Rec'd guns from Mr. Clare and lent them to the following persons—Robert Callahan, George Becton, Thomas Sitgreaves, lent his gun to Mr. Wearn, (?) Rec'd of Longfield 1 gun and lent to Curtas Clemans—Capt. Blount lent his gun to Wm. Murphy, Wm. Cours gun taken from Clemans and lent to Bogay."

Another entry: "Crawford for his part of tent paid 1 pound 3s-4d; Christopher Dawson is to pay for Carroway & E Dawson for their part of tent—2 pounds 6s-8d."

Later Colonel Jacob Blount was appointed paymaster to the North Carolina troops by the Congress at Halifax, April 17, 1776. On February 5, 1777, the Continental Congress "Resolved that 500,000 dollars be advanced to the State of North Carolina upon a warrant from the Governor of the said State for that sum the said State to be accountable." Photograph No. 9 is taken from the original, or a copy, of the warrant on the United States Treasury made to Jacob Blount by Samuel Johnston, Treasurer of the Northern District of North Carolina.

It affords me pleasure to present the photographs of the originals in my possession to the State Literary and Historical Association, and I trust that they may be of interest.

Very cordially,

LIDA TUNSTALL RODMAN.

Washington, North Carolina.

It was then moved and carried that the photographs be accepted and the thanks of the Association be tendered to Miss Rodman for them.

The session was then adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

The meeting was called to order in the Hall of the House of Representatives by President Few, at 3 p. m. The Secretary announced that Dr. Archibald Henderson, who was to submit a report on "The O. Henry Memorial," had written that he had found it impossible to be present in person at the session, but had sent his report with the request that it be read by the Secretary. Accordingly the Secretary read the report, which was as follows:

THE O. HENRY MEMORIAL.

A REPORT.

The new spirit in North Carolina, giving life and impetus to the intellectual and literary forces in the Commonwealth, finds significant expression in the desire and purpose to erect a memorial to O. Henry, the greatest literary figure in our annals. Such a memorial, erected in the Hall of Literature and History in Raleigh, will serve a double purpose to commemorate the greatest writer of the short-story America has produced since Edgar Allan Poe; and to serve as an incentive to our people to erect memorials to other literary figures in our history who have achieved true art and won the loving appreciation of posterity.

In the effort to raise funds for the memorial to O. Henry (William Sidney Porter), the undersigned, with the sanction and support of the State Literary and Historical Association, on February 4, 1913, made the first appeal to all the members of this Association.

This was followed by an appeal to the North Carolina Society of New York. It was felt that this Society had a two-fold interest in O. Henry, first because he was a native North Carolinian, and second because New York was celebrated and interpreted more graphically and more masterfully by O. Henry than by anyone who had preceded him. Under the efficient leadership of the Hon. George Gordon Battle, President of the Society, with the tireless and patriotic assistance of Messrs. Louis Graves and James A. Gwyn, an O. Henry Smoker was held at the Hotel Woodstock on the evening of March 15 last. The principal speakers were Mr. Walter H. Page, present Ambassador to Great Britain; Mr. Richard Duffy, editor of *Ainslee's Magazine*; and Mr. Gelett Burgess, the humorist. As the result of that meeting, and the thorough canvass of the members of the Society afterwards made by Messrs. Graves and Gwyn, more than three hundred dollars (\$300.00) was subscribed.

An appeal was next made to the students of the University of North Carolina.

On July 10, 1913, the undersigned, with the coöperation of Dr. W. P. Beall, personal friend of William Sidney Porter, established the O. Henry Memorial Association at Greensboro. Dr. Beall was elected President of the Association, Miss Emma King, of the State Normal College faculty, Secretary, and Mrs. Waldo Porter, Treasurer. Active and enthusiastic in the movement is Mrs. Al Fairbrother. A committee, recently appointed by Dr. Beall, is now preparing to make an active canvass of Greensboro and Guilford County. Greensboro, the birthplace of Porter, may be relied upon to express, in tangible form, its appreciation of the literary genius of O. Henry.

On October 1, 1913, an appeal was made to all the federated women's clubs in North Carolina, as well as to a number of other clubs, men's as well as women's, under the conviction that the memorial to O. Henry represents a cause which should claim the support of every literary club in the State.

Finally, the interest of Mrs. W. S. Porter, the purpose of the undersigned, and the generous instinct of Mr. Norman Hackett met together in an unique way to further the purposes of the memorial. Mr. Hackett is now playing throughout North Carolina a dramatization by Professor Donald Stuart of Princeton University, of O. Henry's story, *A Double-Dyed Deceiver*, under the title *A Double Deceiver*. In conjunction with the local management, Mr. Hackett donates a generous percentage of the gross receipts from each performance in North Carolina to the O. Henry Memorial Fund. This O. Henry Memorial Tour was begun at Greensboro on November 18. Mrs. W. S. Porter, Miss Margaret Porter, and Mrs. James Coleman, came from Asheville to attend this performance. Brief speeches from the stage were made by Mr. Hackett, Dr. Beall, and the undersigned. A delightful play, admirably acted, was greeted by a large, representative, and enthusiastic audience. If representative audiences greet Mr. Hackett in the fourteen places in which he will play in North Carolina, the Memorial Fund will be very materially increased.

Thus far, voluntary contributions to the fund have come almost exclusively from people not residing in North Carolina, but scattered all over the United States. The response from the clubs of the State, it is confidently expected, will be a representative one. It is to the individual, however, that the appeal must now be directed—to the great masses of people who can make small contributions, to the limited few who can make large contributions. The earnest hope is expressed that at this very meeting many contributions will be made to this fund.

Below follows a list of the contributors to November 19, 1913, in the chronological order in which their contributions were made. In addition, a number of promised contributions from individuals and clubs not on the list, are yet to be received.

Julian S. Carr, Durham, \$50; E. K. Graham, Chapel Hill, \$3; Elizabeth Maxwell Steele Chapter, D. A. R., Salisbury, \$10; F. B. Fuller, Durham, \$5; Clarence Poe, Raleigh, \$5; Thomas H. Battle, Rocky Mount, \$2; H. E. Litchford, Raleigh, \$2; J. G. Wood, Edenton, \$5; J. F. Lanneau, Wake Forest, \$1; Mrs. R. R. Cotten, Bruce, \$1; H. F. Bahnson, Winston-Salem, \$5; K. P. Battle, Jr., Raleigh, \$2; Mrs. J. E. Erwin, Morganton, \$1; Christian Reid Book

Club, Salisbury, \$5; Junius Davis, Wilmington, \$5; C. Alphonso Smith, Charlottesville, Va., \$5; E. L. Gaither, Mocksville, \$5; Mrs. William H. Potter, Boston, Mass., \$5; W. W. Vass, Raleigh, \$5; Ernest Cruikshank, Raleigh, \$2; W. W. Flowers, Durham, \$10; J. H. Southgate, Durham, \$1; Miss Kate F. Curtis, Lincolnton, \$1; I. Allen, Louisburg, \$1; Donald F. Ray, Fayetteville, \$5; Mrs. Margaret Busbee Shipp, Raleigh, \$2; H. V. Wilson, Chapel Hill, \$1; Miss Rebecca Cameron, Hillsboro, \$1; Miss Mary McKinlay Nash, Pensacola, Florida, \$1; Miss E. A. Colton, Raleigh, \$1; J. M. Costner, J. M. Costner, Jr., and Miss F. Costner, Raleigh, \$2; John H. Small, Washington, D. C., \$5; Heriot Clarkson, Charlotte, \$1; Joseph B. Cheshire, Raleigh, \$1; Hight C. Moore, Raleigh, \$1; Mrs. J. Lindsay Patterson, Winston-Salem, \$25; N. C. Newbold, Washington, \$1; Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, Richmond, Va., \$20; Mrs. Cornelia A. Norris, Raleigh, \$1; C. R. Emry, Weldon, \$2.50; cash, Greensboro, \$5; George E. Kidder, Wilmington, \$1; P. P. Claxton, Washington, D. C., \$2.50; W. S. Rankin, Raleigh, \$2; O. I. Tillman, Raleigh, \$5; Miss Caroline Berry Phelps, Raleigh, \$1; W. C. Coughenour, Jr., Salisbury, \$1; F. C. Toepleman, Henderson, \$2.50; A. H. Koonce, Chapel Hill, \$1; Jeff McLemore, Houston, Texas, \$5; R. H. Lewis, Raleigh, \$5; W. C. Hogg, Houston, Texas, \$5; Mrs. S. M. Davis, Los Angeles, Cal., \$1; A. W. Page, New York City, \$5; Afternoon Reading Club, Reidsville, \$5; Herman Weil, Goldsboro, \$50; Paul W. Schenck, Greensboro, \$1; K. P. Battle, Chapel Hill, \$1; C. J. Harris, Dillsboro, \$25; J. D. Bruner, Murfreesboro, \$5; A. B. Andrews, Jr., Raleigh, \$2; Travelers' Club, Salisbury, \$5; Southern Association of College Women, Raleigh Chapter, \$5; Mrs. Walter Grimes, Raleigh, \$2; Adisco Book Club, Washington, \$5; Mrs. R. J. Reynolds, Winston-Salem, \$50; North Carolina Society of New York City, as follows: J. B. Cobb, \$25; J. B. Duke, \$10; B. N. Duke, \$10; A. P. Massey, \$15; Junius Parker, \$15; Joseph Baruch, \$12; Geo. Gordon Battle, \$10; M. W. Platzek, \$10; R. L. Patterson, \$10; G. G. Allen, \$10; R. A. Springs, \$10; W. D. Martin, \$10; R. B. Dula, \$10; J. R. Williams, \$5; Louis Graves, \$5; A. P. Hallett, \$5; Gilbert Elliott, \$5; C. B. Chapman, \$5; A. J. Flanner, \$2; Q. S. Mills, \$2; G. M. Mallett, \$2; Albert Durham, \$2; J. L. Eskridge, \$2; Jefferson Scales, \$2; W. E. Crews, \$2; J. L. McCumber, \$2; V. E. Whitlock, \$2; J. D. Goldsberg, \$2; St. Clair Hester, \$2; J. E. Rice, \$2; J. M. Greenfield, Jr., \$2; J. Z. Lowe, \$2; W. H. Adams, \$2; W. H. Pearson, \$2; Roy Mason, \$2; C. F. Wilson, \$2; F. M. Lawrence, \$2; A. L. Causee, \$2; J. A. Valentine, \$2; A. W. Haywood, Jr., \$2; Thomas Dixon, \$2; Elliott Daingerfield, \$2; A. H. Carr, \$2; William Hill, \$2; J. N. Staples, Jr., \$2; J. F. Daly, \$2; G. B. Wills, \$2; W. A. Burr, \$2; E. E. Turlington, \$2; J. A. Gwyn, \$2; J. C. Leslie, \$2; R. H. Graves, \$2; J. S. Primrose, \$2; O. Henry Smoker, \$35; Charles Baskerville, \$10; J. H. Parker, \$10; T. M. Jones, \$2; Students of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, \$10.45; John G. Bragaw, Washington, \$2; Mr. and Mrs. F. H. Boyden, Salisbury, \$5; John Goodrich Clark, Philadelphia, Pa., \$10; Eugene Manlove Rhodes, Apalachin, N. Y., \$5; J. M. Livingston, Binghampton, N. Y., \$2; Shakespeare Club, Oxford, \$5; Mrs. Wm. N. Reynolds, Winston-Salem, \$15; John Steele Henderson, Salisbury, \$10; Woman's Club, New Bern, \$10; Pro Re Nata Club, Charlotte, \$5; West Raleigh Book Club, Raleigh, \$5; Wadesboro Book Club, Wadesboro, \$3; Richard Tiddy Book Club, Charlotte, \$5;

Athenæ Book Club, Charlotte, \$4; Woman's Club, Marion, \$2.10; Halcyon Literary Club, Durham, \$3.

Total, \$716.05.

It is purposed to raise \$1,500. In nine months almost half this amount has been raised. It is hoped that the remainder may be raised in a much shorter space of time. The cause, its objects, its progress, the results, have been repeatedly brought to the attention of the people of the State through the medium of the press, always hospitable with space and influence. Mr. Hackett's Memorial Tour will call the attention of many thousands of citizens of this State to the cause and its merits. May the results, in the form of many voluntary individual contributions, justify the hopes of us all.

North Carolina, if she will, may demonstrate to the world and to posterity her appreciation of native genius in the perfect tribute of an enduring memorial to deathless art.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

The President then presented Mr. Henry Jerome Stockard, of Peace Institute, who read a paper entitled "John Henry Boner: An Appreciation."

At the conclusion of Mr. Stockard's paper, Miss Minnie W. Leatherman, Secretary of the North Carolina Library Commission, submitted her report on the "North Carolina Bibliography of the Year."

Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood presented the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the Secretary be instructed to tender to the President and Trustees of Meredith College the sincere thanks of this Association for their courtesy in placing at the service of the Association, for its evening sessions, the excellent auditorium of Meredith College.

The meeting was then adjourned.

Following this session the Woman's Club of Raleigh tendered a reception to the Association at their club rooms on Salisbury Street.

EVENING SESSION, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

President Few called the meeting to order in the auditorium of Meredith College at 8 o'clock p. m., and announced that the Governor of North Carolina would introduce the speaker of the evening.

Governor Craig declared it his great pleasure to present M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador to the American People, "one of the foremost scholars, literary men and statesmen of his day. By research and native ability, he has written his name by the side of Taine, who wrote the greatest literary history of the English-speaking people. Our guest has produced a literary history of the English people which ranks with Taine's and it is a great pleasure and privilege to introduce him to this audience."

After gracefully acknowledging the Governor's introduction, M. Jusserand addressed the Association on "Rochambeau and the French in America: Why they Came and What they Did."

At the conclusion of the address, the President called for the report of the Nominating Committee, which was submitted by Judge R. W. Winston, the Chairman, as follows:

PresidentARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Chapel Hill.
First Vice-PresidentMISS MARY SHANNON SMITH, Raleigh.
Second Vice-PresidentFRANK NASH, Hillsboro.
Third Vice-PresidentW. B. McKoy, Wilmington.
Secretary-TreasurerR. D. W. CONNOR, Raleigh.

The nominations were unanimously confirmed and the Fourteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association declared adjourned *sine die*.

The North Carolina Folk-Lore Society

It was a great pleasure to the members of the State Literary and Historical Association to have the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society to hold its second annual session jointly with the State Literary and Historical Association. Following is the program followed by the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society.

FRIDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 21, 1913.

President's Address—James Finch Royster, University of North Carolina.

Paper—"Some Plantation Signs and Wonders," O. W. Blacknall, Kittrell.

Paper—"Unusual Uses of Words," George W. Lay, St. Mary's School.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 21, 1913.

Paper—"The Science of Fairy and Folk Tales," Benjamin Sledd, Wake Forest College.

Paper—"How to Collect and Preserve the Ballads and Folk Songs of North Carolina," Maurice G. Fulton, Davidson College.

Paper—"Ballads and Folk Songs in North Carolina," Collier Cobb, University of North Carolina.

Paper—"The Reading of Various Folk Material, Collected by the Society since the last Meeting."

Business Session—Reports, Election of Officers, etc.

ADDRESSES

The Value of Literature in an Industrial Society

BY W. P. FEW, PRESIDENT OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

When Mr. Walter H. Page, now ambassador to the Court of St. James, a year ago in this place, spoke in behalf of a literary revival and instead of talking about literature at all, made an appeal for the care of our land and the care of our people, his point of view did not fail him. For such a revival can hardly come without first this firm establishment of our people in the sources of sound living. But the intellectual and spiritual alertness necessary to produce or to appreciate literature may not be expected to come to us because we become prosperous, but because through prosperity and hope we may be made alive. Our talent has been dulled by hard circumstances and has gone to waste. We need, as men everywhere need, to be energized and sensitized, to be made keenly alive.

Carlyle called Dante the voice of ten silent centuries singing their mystic, unfathomable song. These long dreary centuries of European history were silent because they had not life enough in them to stir them awake. Soundness of national life always precedes intellectual productivity. The Elizabethan age in England for its intellectual achievement remains the wonder of the modern world, and that, as we all know, was a period that abounded in energy and hope. The men who lived with Shakespeare became poets, as Emerson said, for the air was fame. There was a mighty throb of life in it that stirred the spirits of men awake, and they aspired greatly and achieved greatly. We in this generation are living in the midst of a period which, though it is confused with warring voices, is yet characterized by swift movement, by intellectual daring, by gigantic energy that ought to stir the imagination; and especially in this region that has been so long held in the inertia of an old conservatism ought the rebound to give us a new and strong impulse to live and to aspire and to achieve. We ought to breed a generation of workers, of thinkers, of writers; we ought at last to find a voice for our own silent centuries, with their unuttered pity, their aspirations, their successes, and their defeats. But are we going to be able to know the day of our visitation? Progress and prosperity are good and we can not have too much of them; but we may expect of them what they can never give.

Mr. Page's gospel of care for the man and care for the land has already been and is still being preached to pretty good effect in North Carolina, and he himself has done a good deal of that sort of preaching. The result is that our farmers know more about their business and are better off than ever before. Our prosperity therefore rests upon a firmer and wider basis. And this is at once the cause and effect of a leaven of life that is at work in the State and that is manifesting itself in many ways. For example, we have had and still have popular educational leaders of great significance. The organization of public education goes on apace. Education as an opportunity for every youth has practically been achieved. There is, to be sure, yet ahead of us, as of all America, the stupendous task of improving the tone and quality of all our public education. Our colleges are on the whole the most promising in the Southern States. The influence of our public men is being more and more felt in the United States Senate, in the lower house, in the cabinet, in the diplomatic service, and throughout our national councils. The sober truth is we are now in the midst of a great awakening. It only remains to see to it that this awakening shall have its proper fruitage in intellectual and spiritual release, that our prosperity shall find its use in forming, cheering, and refining our people, and that we shall apply to all phases of our civilization those permanent and universal standards of excellence that have been wrought out through the long experience of the race. In a new country like America which is, so far as the masses of men are concerned, completely devoid of music, painting, and the plastic arts, this culture of the people must come mainly through books. Can books provide the culture of an industrial, democratic society?

Walt Whitman, in *Democratic Vistas*, says of all works of art: "Then, wherever claiming to be first-class works, they are to be strictly and sternly tried by their foundation in and radiation (in the highest sense and always indirectly) of the ethic principles, and eligibility to free, arouse, dilate." Few human beings are sufficiently energized. In the case of most of us our spirits are dull as night, and we live at a poor dying rate. Beset as we are by human limitations, grossly closed in by this muddy vesture of decay, we need most of all to have our souls freed, aroused, dilated. How can literature perform this noble function and so become, not a substitute to be sure, but a handmaid of religion?

In the first place, it is the truth that makes us free. And it is the distilled and essential truth that abides in literature; this is the Attic salt that preserves it. It is this quality in literature that informs and disciplines our sense for beauty and our sense for conduct. In great literature this permanent and universal truth is presented to us in

alluring and compelling forms. Consider for instance what Shakespeare does for us in one of his tragedies. In each of these tragedies he gives us the spectacle of a great man, and one in general good, brought into misery through some defect of his nature, and through his own blindness and weakness made the channel through which runs to others an ever-swelling torrent of unutterable woe. Thus through the feelings of pity and fear these tragedies, in Aristotle's famous phrase, "effect the proper purgation of our passions," and leave us with a quivering sense of the perils and responsibilities of earthly life. In such moments of concentrated and heightened spiritual activity, thus completely freed, aroused, dilated, the mighty heart of all mankind lies still and absorbs the great, elemental, universal moral laws by which we live. But this imaginary spectacle stirs also the heroic in us and fires us to the inordinate hatred of evil and emulation of good. For Shakespeare brings us to find, as he himself had found, in the "splendors of courage and love a remedy for despair."

Aside from the joys that come to us from out ourselves—from health, morality, and usefulness—the mightiest solace to the tired children of the earth comes from nature with all her vast contrivances of charm—her grand procession of the seasons; her seas and lands; the green earth, still young and entrancingly beautiful as when she lay by the sources of time. But what makes the world the vastly interesting thing it is is the fact that it has been the scene of man's life for countless generations. The record of man's experience with the earth is preserved in literature. Literature stands in most intimate relations with human life. In fact, it is "life itself, conceived in purity, incarnate through the magic of speech." Literature also stands in the most intimate relations with nature. In the history of mankind, the three—life, literature, and nature—are inextricably interwoven. And so it is

"The clouds that gather round the setting sun
Do take a sober coloring from an eye
That hath kept watch o'er man's mortality."

Whoever stood and listened at the melancholy, long, withdrawing roar of the ocean and did not find in it a new meaning, if he had read Sophocles and remembered that "Sophocles too long ago heard it on the Ægean, and it brought into his mind the turbid ebb and flow of human misery"? What lover of English poetry does not see an added glory in that most splendid of all earthly spectacles, the daily miracle of a rising sun, if he carries in his heart Milton's phrase, "While the still morn went out with sandals gray"? What lover of English poetry can look even upon the sear and forbidding autumn trees—that austerest natural

scene—without a thrill of pleasure because he remembers Shakespeare's tender and beautiful line in which they are described as

"Bare ruin'd choirs, where late the sweet birds sang"?

To the lover of poetry there not only then wells up within himself a perpetual spring of peace and joy, a sort of fountain of eternal youth: but there also rises before his eyes a vision of a new heaven and a new earth. All but the most highly gifted of men need to be taught to see by those who have been able to see more clearly and who had the power of expressing the thoughts and feelings in which we can all dimly share when they have been phrased for us. The poets not only open up for us a new world of nature, but they help us to unlock our own hearts.

"We're made so that we love

First, when we see them painted, things we've passed

Perhaps a hundred times, nor cared to see."

If we can give the youth of our State this second vision, and if about our splendid mountains, our plains, and our fields we can put noble associations of great writings and great names, it will hasten the movement back to the farms more certainly than all possible text-books written in terms of agriculture. The Englishman's love of the country has been influenced more than we can estimate by English literature.

Literature is a lasting expression in words of the meaning of life, and it records in permanent form every step of progress man has made. It does more than any other kind of record to keep the world's memory alive and to transmit to us our great heritage from the past. And we shall have to continue to look to it to supply those permanent and universal standards to which our civilization must conform if it is ever to reach the highest levels of excellence.

But this formative, consoling, and sustaining power can only be got through reading the very greatest books. We ought especially to study more of our very best poetry. Aside from the supreme value—the formative, consoling, and sustaining power of the very greatest poetry, that has stood the testing of time, it is an advantage in our reading to get back into the past, away from the local, the personal, and the present into the high, calm, serene atmosphere of the classics, into the "silence that precedes all creation." We thus escape from the fret and the fever of our bustling, hurrying life into the exalted and idealized regions of the creative imagination, where our spirits may be quiet and unperturbed and our minds may be fed in a "wise passiveness."

This devotion to the old dead masters will not interfere with our recognition of the new. As a people we have been and, I fear still are,

singularly indifferent to our own writers. For a man sincerely devoted to a great art the hardest thing to bear is just neglect. He does not seek notoriety. If he is a man of first rate quality he despises it. But he does crave to be understood by those who have understanding hearts. Between the neglect of the many and the plain bias of coteries of partisans our native writers have had little external incitement to do their best. Undue praise is as futile as neglect. Literature is something too great and too universal to be affected by any kind of boasting. It can only finally stand on its intrinsic merit. The only honest, useful thing any critic can do for any author—or for anybody else so far as that is concerned—is to speak of him as he is; nothing extenuate nor aught set down in malice. For us of the South to do this in the case of poets like Timrod and Lanier, for example, or a romancer like Simms is exceedingly difficult. They were all so “lovely and pleasant in their lives,” made such heroic efforts against tremendous odds to lead the higher life, but were so cramped, cabbined, and confined in their surroundings and so pitiable in their lot, that we can with great difficulty look upon them in any other light than as martyrs to a lost cause. And yet they can all afford to stand on their merits. Each one holds perhaps not a high but a secure place in American literary annals. We may not place Timrod and Lanier among the few great English poets. We must not thus confuse and lower our ideals. A high ideal of excellence is the most sacred and valuable thing to a race. We in democratic America constantly need to be reminded by the Greek poet that excellence dwells high among the rocks and that to attain it we must wear out our very souls. The man who in any of the higher fields of effort, by honest endeavor wins some measure of success, should receive the simple, sincere praise of all wise and good men. It is not proper that this praise should be given with loud extravagance, but it should simply be a just and sincere tribute. To succeed in an humble way, to hold but a small niche in the everlasting temple of fame, is worth all that even Lanier or Timrod ever suffered.

The welfare of any native literature demands at once this sympathetic but critical attitude. It must have back of it a vigorous intellectual life. The lack of this critical public explains the dearth of ideas in all our older literary men. They are as a rule noble, finely constituted, well endowed, but there is a lack of vigor and maturity in their productions. They promise more than they fulfill. They are greater for what they are than for what they do. Over them all might be placed a broken shaft, as Simms requested should be placed over his grave, and on the broken shaft might be carved the epitaph which he composed for himself: “Here lies one who, after a reasonably long life,

distinguished chiefly by unceasing labors, has left all his better works undone." We have this feeling about them all. They left all their better works undone. They did not give a full expression of themselves. And I suppose we all have much the same feeling about two of our most gifted writers in this generation—the lamented Avery and McNeill.

Literature is a sort of flowering of the tree of life and it appears when this body of life is sound and growing.—We can not force it. But we can create a climate of opinion in which it may take root and flourish. Whether our great man shall come even then is, as a Frenchman once said, a secret safely locked up in the keeping of the immortal gods. And whether we ourselves shall live to see it or not, to be the forerunners and heralds of such a day is a call that ought to stir every enlightened and right-minded man and woman among us.

A New Method of Historical Investigation

BY DR. HERMAN HARRELL HORNE, PROFESSOR OF THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION
AND THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY IN NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

Mr. President and Fellow North Carolinians: When I was preparatory student in one of the schools of this State, no longer in existence now, I once entered a contest in declamation. The very title of the piece I spoke has escaped me, but I remember very well the title of the speech that won the contest, and the speaker who won the contest. Alec. Lassiter was the speaker, and he spoke a piece entitled "North Carolina." When at the University in my sophomore year, as a member of one of the societies, again I entered a contest in declamation. I remembered Alec. Lassiter and his speech on North Carolina, and I said to myself: "I will speak the piece entitled 'North Carolina'." And, ladies and gentlemen, I am happy to report to you tonight that in that contest it was not another man that won.

Now, the first line of that speech I still remember, and I can say it tonight with greater emotion than I was able to say it then, twenty years ago. It is as follows: "I stand here tonight proud to lift my voice in behalf of my native State," and I say it still. And I am happy to report to you what some of you may have suspected, that the author of that speech was my grandfather, Dr. W. B. Harrell. A more loyal lover of the State never breathed, though he was born in Suffolk, Va.

You will pardon me, Mr. President, if my introductory remarks are somewhat lengthy. I feel like a Carolinian again among fellow Carolinians. As we sit here tonight in the very shadow of the Capitol, you will pardon me for saying that I am very grateful to stand upon this platform as the nephew of the late and lamented Col. Ashley Horne. It was the pleasure of my wife, a North Carolina girl, and myself to go last Sunday afternoon to the studio in New York City where was the model of the statue to be erected in honor of the women of the Confederacy, a gift to the State of North Carolina from Col. Ashley Horne. You probably have read what that statute is to be. Here is seated a woman of the Confederacy, and there is a young boy of the Confederacy, grasping a sword. She has a book upon her lap, but her eyes are set toward the future. The boy has been listening to the story of war, and his eyes, too, as he grasps the sword, are looking toward the future. The statue grips you, thrills you, as its message enters your soul. Different observers will interpret it differently. I know that to my uncle it was a woman of the time telling a boy of the time of his older brothers at

the front, and how she would be glad to do even more than she has been able to do in sending those boys there. To the sculptor of the group the woman represents one living today, a grandmother of the Confederacy, who has survived the shock of the War and suffered its bitterness, and is telling the grandson, who has been playing with the sword and has knelt at her side with a question as to its meaning, the story of the War Between the States. Together they look out into the future which is to yield the greater fruition of that contest.

To some the statue, like history, will lead to knowledge. To others the statue, again like history, will awaken emotion. But to me the statue, as history should do, will lead to action.

Now, Mr. President, in the interpretation which I have just suggested for this statue, which is to adorn this city, you have the keynote of what I want to say to you tonight. Indeed I might very properly at this time take my seat as having made my speech, but for the pleasant necessity resting upon me, as suggested by the Secretary of the Society, of standing here before you for perhaps forty-five minutes.

My topic is "A New Method of Historical Investigation," a very ambitious title. I apologize for it at the beginning. That topic was not altogether of my own choosing. I sent your honored Secretary a short list of topics, and from that list he chose the one upon which I am to speak tonight. If I succeed, certainly give the credit to my friend, Mr. Connor, in large measure, and if I fail, I suppose the blame will come to me.

The problem is how to make history function in life, how to set history to work. We have listened tonight to a literary gem. It is the kind of production to which we shall turn back to read with greatest inspiration and satisfaction. In contrast with what President Few has said to you tonight, it falls to me to speak some very plain prose on how to make history do something in the world, and the answer which I am to give to that problem is this, by the new method of historical investigation.

At the end of the recent campaign for the mayoralty of the greater city of New York, the mayor-elect, Mr. Mitchel, reviewing the campaign, and thinking of it, as District Attorney Whitman had characterized it, as one of vituperation and censure, said: "But now the campaign is merely historical." It is against that interpretation of history that I would rebel, that when a thing is done you fold it in a napkin and lay it away, and there it rests as "merely historical." I want the money in the napkins, in the name of history, which has been laid

away, to be taken out, to be unfolded, to be sent into usage again as circulating coin.

How has history been regarded? Very briefly, I might characterize four points of view from which history has been regarded. History is a record, the kind of thing a Babylonian king might carve upon a monument. He who will may consult it. That is how Ranke describes history, as a mere narration of what actually happened.

Another point of view regarding history is that it is a source of culture. It is the kind of thing that well educated people want to know about. One could make no pretensions to having had access to the sources of culture unless one were acquainted with certain outstanding facts of human history, and so it has been regarded.

Now, in the third place, history has been regarded as quickening an emotion, as awakening enthusiasm about the past, as awakening pride and sentiment in the past, and so it has led to a devotion to the past.

And, in the fourth place, history has been regarded as a field of intensive investigation for the scholar. He who likes musty tomes may open the pages and put his nose between, and there he will find some very interesting old material, of concern to the antiquarian. Then he may write a book which gives him considerable reputation, but which very few people read, and he becomes known as an historical scholar.

Now, it would not become me to cast the slightest reflection upon any one of these ways in which history has been regarded. In fact, there is truth in each one of these points of view. History is a record. It is a source of culture. It should awaken certain emotions, and it is a field of intensive investigation for the scholar. I would not detract one iota from the ways in which history has been regarded, but I should like to supplement these four points of view with a new point of view.

Far be it from me to appear too personal or too ambitious tonight in presenting to you a new point of view about history. I would do it with all simplicity and all modesty. You chose this subject upon which I am to speak. I bring it to you warm out of my heart's experience. It is the very principle which, for five years, I have been endeavoring to work out with my graduate students at New York University. Since you wanted me to speak on this subject, I must speak to you about my own little work.

I would have history regarded as a utility. I would set history to work. I would make history function in life. Was Patrick Henry right when he said, "I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience?" Has the lamp of experience been used to guide our feet?

A story comes into my mind told by John Sharp Williams at the time at which he was attorney for one of the southern railways. It appears that this railway had engaged an old negro man to swing a lantern at a certain crossing where a country road came down and crossed, at the foot of a hill, the railroad. Once a farmer was driving his wagon down, after dark, and he was on the railroad when a train struck him with considerable injury to his animal and his wagon and some to himself. He sued the company. In court his lawyer asked the old negro, "Were you on duty this night?" The negro said he was. "Did you swing your lantern this night?" The old negro said, "I did." On the evidence of the old negro the defendant won, and the wounded plaintiff lost his case. Afterwards Williams was talking to the old negro, and said, "You won that case for me." "Yes, sir," the old negro said, "but I was sure glad that lawyer didn't ask me, Was that lantern lit?"

Have we swung the lantern of history? Perhaps we have. Has that lantern been lit? I would light the lantern of history, that men may see, and perhaps that there may be fewer social wrecks in the future.

We live in an age in which the pragmatic philosophy is very influential—the philosophy that holds that ideals that work are true, and that ideals that will not work are false. I can not claim to be a pragmatist. I am willing to allow that some ideals that are eternally true do not and can not work just now, because social conditions are so bad. And yet those ideals stand as true ideals. But I am enough of a pragmatist to demand that the ideals which we hold to be true try to work. Now, we hold as a theoretical matter that history somehow should be practical. Are we demanding that that ideal try to work? I, at least, am so demanding of my own students. I would not have history presented merely from the biographical standpoint, great as is that view of Carlyle's. I would not have history presented from the standpoint of the main social tendencies in the past, not primarily. But I would have history presented from the standpoint of modern problems in the light of their historical antecedents, and there you have the very brief answer to the question, "How shall we make history work?" We shall make it work by tracing the contemporary problems in the light of their antecedents.

Up at the University here they have a new department, known as the Bureau of Municipal and Legislative Reference. As I understand it, when any matter of legislation is pending, or when any municipal proposition is being considered, the people who are concerned may apply to this Bureau for information as to whether this measure has been tried or no, and if tried, whether it has worked. That is the idea.

Please do not let any member of this elect group of literary and historical students of North Carolina suppose that I am such a Philistine as to say that the theory of education as culture is outworn. Not so. Life is always bigger than a man's business, and education must always be cultural as well as practical. But business is part of a man's life, and if education is going to fit us, as Spencer said, for complete living, then education must take account of our business. We here in North Carolina are endeavoring to build up a great social democracy. That is the business of the State. And we are facing issues in this upbuilding which require that the lamp of history be swung lighted to illumine our pathway.

How shall I describe this new method? You select just those contemporary issues which concern the welfare of the State. You then trace those issues in their past historical connection, so that you develop, as the French pragmatic philosopher Bergson says, "a sympathetic intuition" regarding that problem. You have been present at the social birth of that problem; you have seen it in the various stages of its career; and now you see it in its present status in society. Having been sponsor for this problem, so to speak, throughout its life history, you now have a sympathetic intuition of it. You know your problem, you are prepared to say what may be expected to come next in its development. It is the functional point of view—you get knowledge that you may use it. It is the genetic point of view—you follow the growth of the problem. It is the developmental, it is the extensive point of view. No longer is the history scholar to study some question of mediæval or ancient history without reference to its modern bearings. He is to consider only those questions that face the world today, but those questions he is considering in their complete aspect, ancient, mediæval, and modern.

Now, as to the question of the place of the individual in society. I will not discuss that now, but will use it as an illustration of the application of this method. I refer to it because my book dealing with this subject appeared two years before the work of J. H. Robinson, of Columbia, entitled "The New History," for his point of view and the one I have just given you are very similar. J. H. Robinson has shown that the modern social institutions, to be understood, must be treated from the historical standpoint, and we study history in order that we may understand the modern social conditions. And, similarly, a question in philosophy, whether the human will is free or determined in its action, it has been my privilege to treat again from this historical standpoint. You will be interested to know that, in the case of the problem of the individual, versus society, it appeared to be evident that to

be an outstanding individual in history has regularly been an unpopular thing. It has been heretical. To conform to social custom has regularly been the popular thing, the orthodox thing. You would likewise be interested to know in the case of the problem of free will, that in the course of the history of human thinking, regarding human action as determined has been the customary thing, and to hold, as we are inclined to hold today, that the human will is free and has some power of control over the events of life has been historically the unusual viewpoint. The course of human history shows the widening emphasis upon individualism in society. Who, then, can say that in a modern social democracy the individual must be submerged? Likewise, the course of human history has shown the widening recognition of the principle of the freedom of the human will. Who, then, as a philosophical thinker, if he is at all enlightened by the study of history in its movement, can say that man has no power over his individual action? Rather we are coming to say, with Henley:

"It matters not how strait the gate,
How charged with punishments the scroll,
I am the master of my fate,
I am the captain of my soul."

And so my students, in this seminar of mine on the history of education, are put to work upon modern problems. Once I gave a seminar in the history of mediæval education. This I no longer do. Instead, I give a seminar for graduate students on the history of modern problems only, treated, however in the light of the whole past.

I brought with me a list of problems that have been actually worked out by my own students in accord with this principle. Again I beg pardon for the personal note. This makes concrete the abstract principles about which we have been speaking. Their papers are mostly in my hands at present, and in the course of the coming winter this seminar will put out in print a little volume of essays embodying this new method of investigation.

The first of my list of problems is, How should the modern educational system be reorganized? (You will be interested to know that the man who wrote that paper, either by inherited capacity or by the possession of knowledge of organization due to a study of all past methods, became so interested in the subject of organization that he decided to accept a very flattering position offered him by the Standard Oil Company. That was an unexpected vindication of the method.)

Again, a topic which I am very glad to mention in this hall where we are assembled, in this institution which has done so much for over a

dozen years for the education of the women of North Carolina, and which has set a standard in higher education for women in North Carolina and in the whole South: What should the education of women be? In graduate work in New York University we do not consider that learning has any gender. We have men and women students, and the author of this paper is a woman. And when the faculty of Meredith College or some other Southern institution wants a woman, a great woman, to be a teacher of girls, please remember my name and address. I may be able to recommend to you the right woman.

How should we educate atypical children?—a new question. We have rated children all as normal. Many are backward, nervous, their development arrested. Many are precocious, supernormal. We are now proposing education for them.

How should secondary education be improved? What should be the scope of vocational education? How should schools be disciplined? What is the solution of the problem of religious education in our public schools? What is the place of geography in the curriculum? These are some other problems on my list.

So I have endeavored to make concrete to you, by this list, the actual subjects to which this method has been applied. You will pardon the fact that the illustrations are drawn from the history of one subject, education. That chances to be the subject with which I am most concerned.

You ask me, Why do you speak to the members of the State Literary and Historical Society on this method? That may do for New York, but do you mean to say that this method might be used in North Carolina? My friends, you would not have asked me to come this distance and have me revive here the happy associations of my childhood unless you had wanted me to bring you a message that comes warm from my life. And so I would say that this is a method for North Carolina; there is nothing too good for North Carolina. We have in our colleges, in our University, graduate students who are bending their thought to the solution of the modern social questions in North Carolina. We have members of this Society who are concerned that our experience in this State shall be lighted by whatsoever source from which the light may be drawn, and so, among the possible methods of treating historical questions, I propose that we too apply this one.

To what questions? It is my misfortune that I am not able to follow the intimate history of this State according to the promptings of my heart and affections. Necessity has laid it upon me that I keep abreast of the vast life we struggle to serve in our cosmopolitan city. But I take pleasure in the progress of North Carolina. I endeavor to study

her growth, and I should say that there are certain outstanding social questions in North Carolina today which might be with peculiar profit treated from this standpoint. I have written out six specific ones.

The first one has been touched already by the President in his address tonight—another very welcome vindication of the new method. It is, Under what social conditions does literature flourish?

Is not that one thing this Society means by its existence? We speak of the Periclean age, we speak of the Augustan age, we speak of the Medicean age, we speak of the age of Louis XIV, we speak of the Elizabethan age. There are North Carolinians now who are writing and studying and thinking, and winning this beautiful cup year by year, who are dreaming of a revival of literature in North Carolina. Dream on, work on! Under what social conditions does literature flourish in the history of the world? Have we those social conditions in North Carolina? To what extent have we them? If we have them not, what may you and I do to bring about those social conditions out of which literature grows as a beautiful flower?

Second. How has it worked in the past to revise and amend State constitutions? I understand, your Excellency, that the Legislature of North Carolina has to consider the question of the revision and the amendment of the State Constitution. The new method would suggest that some historical scholar be set to work to trace the history of the revisions and the amendments to State constitutions in the United States—what they have been, under what conditions they have been passed, how those amendments and revisions have worked in practice. Then that result should be condensed and not put away on a dry-as-dust shelf, but published in a readable monograph form and a copy put into the hands of every member of the General Assembly, of every voter in the State, in order that he may vote intelligently. This would swing the lantern of history lit.

Third. What system of taxation is best, as shown by the past workings of all the main systems? I have heard the system of taxation in North Carolina described as an antiquated system. I shall not say that the charge is just, but there lives in North Carolina, perhaps there is in this audience, some person who, in the light of history, tracing the systems of taxation in the past, could tell us with authority whether or not North Carolina has an antiquated system of taxation. And when that person has told us, that person would be prepared further to go on and say, The best system of taxation, judged by results in the past, is this system, from that country. It matters not what system or what country. Then, are the social conditions of North Carolina so similar that this would

be the best system of taxation for North Carolina? What we need in our State treasury is money—the State of North Carolina, for its great forward progress, needs money.

Fourth. (We have distinguished jurists in this presence tonight. That North Carolina girl to whom I made reference was the daughter of a lawyer, and she is also the daughter of a Confederate soldier. Having associated with her for about twelve years I have learned to speak with great deference in the presence of the law.) Fourth, has the law's delay in the past resulted in more social injuries or benefits? And when some historical student has told us that, from the old days of trial by jury to today, the law's delays have resulted in these four or five or six definite benefits or injuries to society, the question as to whether we shall have special trial judges will be settled, and it will be settled right.

Fifth. Has special legislation by general assemblies worked well or ill for society? Let us know, let us not guess or suppose or opine, but let us know.

Sixth. Are we ready for compulsory education? In view of the fact that North Carolina is so interested in a six months' school term, and is straining every nerve that perchance she may be able to secure a six months' term for her boys and girls, remembering that the old Roman and Greek boys and girls had just the occasional holidays of the religious festivals and were taught all the other days of the year, just when North Carolina is considering this very question, let some student of the history of education in our State, or out of it, write us a little monograph on this question, "What have actually been the social effects of more education for the people?" Then North Carolina, when she knows the facts in the case, will rise, as she has always risen, in her strength, to do the bidding of her people. I covet for the members of this Society, and for those young students in our midst, throbbing with a noble impulse to serve our State, I covet for them the opportunity to serve her through the practical interpretation of history.

Nothing impresses me more when I come back than the fact that the consciousness of North Carolina is widening. We are not thinking simply in state terms, though those are proper terms in which to think. We are not thinking simply in terms of the South, though those are proper terms in which to think. Well do I remember how, on the occasion of a recent visit to Athens, Ga., a member of that university faculty said to me, putting that emotion into his words that I could feel, "We here in Georgia are still looking for leadership to the Old North State." We are thinking in terms of the Nation. The appointment of Josephus Daniels and other native Carolinians to President Wilson's cabinet has

taught us to think in terms of the Nation. And President Wilson has given us that very phrase which is the summary of my message tonight: "Men of the forward-looking mind." We look back into history to gain that insight into our present problems which shall give us foresight for the greater future. The appointment of Major Hale, of Fayetteville, and of Walter Page as ambassadors to foreign countries is teaching us to think in international terms. It is a great thing to live in North Carolina today and feel the pulse of the State as it beats in harmony with the pulse of the South, and with the pulse of the Nation, with the pulse of the world. North Carolina, may she learn and may she have something to teach, learn from the old world, and teach to the whole world.

Relations Between the Confederate States Government and the Government of North Carolina

WALTER A. MONTGOMERY.

It may as well be stated, in the outset, that the relations between the Government of the Confederate States of America and the State Government of North Carolina, whatever they may have been during the first year of the association, became during the last three, discordant, and at times, little less than strained.

For the proper treatment of our subject, it is indispensable to review some of the conditions and happenings which lead up to the establishment of the Confederate States Government, and to take note of the difference between the characteristics and political opinions of the people of those seven States which originally composed the Confederate Government and those of the other slave-holding States which subsequently united with the Confederacy, especially those of North Carolina.

There can be no doubt that secession was resorted to by South Carolina and the six Gulf States for the protection of slavery. Each one of those States made a declaration to that effect, at the time of its secession, either in the ordinances of convention, or in accompanying and explanatory documents; and there is little less doubt that anxiety about, and fear for, the safety of that institution greatly influenced the members of the conventions of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas in their determination to resist the coercion of the Southern States, and to dissolve their connection with the Union. That fear alone, however, would not have caused them to take that step.

In the rich lands of these border-States, Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, the slave-holding interest was strong and controlling and, there, the doctrine of State rights, rejuvenated and re-shaped by Nathaniel Macon and John Randolph in the interest of slavery, to the point of secession and disunion, prevailed. But there were considerable areas of those States lying contiguous and running down to the eastward and to the westward from the Alleghany not a little into the flat country, in the greater part of which slave labor did not exist, and in the other part it was only sporadic and did not appreciably affect domestic conditions. In those sections there was no positive influence exerted by the wealth and culture of the surrounding slave-holding domain, and the people had never adopted the political views of the slave-holding sections of those States and of the Gulf States. And it may be safely asserted that up to the 15th of April, 1861, the time of the proclamation

of the President of the United States in which he called for each State's quota of militia in order (as it read) to suppress said combination and to cause the laws to be duly executed, the great number of the politicians and public men, and a very large majority of the people of the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas were not only loyal to the Government of the United States, but were sincerely attached to it. When that proclamation was issued a convention of the people of Arkansas had been held, had rejected a proposed ordinance of secession, and had adjourned.

In Tennessee the Legislature, in special session, called by Governor Harris, provided for an election, at which it should be determined whether or not a convention should be held on the 25th of February, 1861. The vote for convention was 24,749 and against convention, 91,803. The popular majority, therefore, against convention was 67,054 out of a total vote of 116,552. In Virginia the Legislature called a State convention to meet on the 13th of February, 1861. The convention assembled and for two months its members refused to pass an ordinance of secession, although commissioners and agents from the seceding States had in person urged such a course with much persistence with the members of the Convention, and powerful pressure had been brought to bear upon that body to that end by many of the strongest citizens of that State.

There was also a considerable section of the State of Kentucky which adjoined the non-slave holding territory of Virginia and Tennessee of similar characteristics of soil and people. Kentucky, however, was only nominally in alliance with the Confederate States, her entrance into that government being of such slight consequence and so little representative of the people of Kentucky that members of the Confederate Congress were on more than one occasion on the verge of contesting the right of the members from that State to participate in the deliberations of that body. Representation in the Confederate Congress was based on the proceedings of a revolutionary meeting of the people of a few counties along the southern Tennessee line, in November, 1861. The meeting was held upon the call of former United States Senator Breckenridge, at Russellville, a small town ten or fifteen miles from the Tennessee border and was made up mostly of refugees from counties under control of the Union forces. The two Senators and the Representatives in the lower House appointed or elected through the machinery of that meeting were received by the Confederate Government. Thereafter the Representatives were elected by the few soldiers from Kentucky in the Confederate armies.

So large was the area in North Carolina in which slave labor did not prevail, or if it did appreciably, only in particular localities, and so numerous was the population that inhabited it, that as late as February 28, 1861, weeks after the government of the Confederate States had been in operation, in Montgomery, they defeated at the polls a proposition even to consider their Federal relations.

The history of that campaign is remarkable. The interest in the election was intense. The pulpit took almost as active a part as the newspapers and politicians. The convention was defeated by a vote of 47,232 against, and 46,672 for, the majority against convention being 651, including the vote of Davie County, which was rejected on the official count because of some irregularity in the returns. With Davie County excluded the majority against convention was 195. Eighty-three Union candidates were elected and 37 dis-Union. That was no surprise. But that which caused astonishment was that convention had been defeated, notwithstanding large numbers of the most prominent of the Union leaders favored a convention and several were candidates to be delegates, should a convention be called, and thousands of Unionists voted for convention. Mr. Z. B. Vance, then a member of Congress, although a strong Unionist was not opposed to the convention. In Wake County, for example, convention was carried by a majority of 165, while the Union candidates, Mr. George E. Badger, Mr. W. W. Holden, and Mr. Kemp P. Battle, three of the most prominent men in the State, were elected by a majority of nearly 1,200. The newspapers were probably nearer together in favoring a convention than they ever had been on any public question before; and in addition the Confederate Government, embracing every Southern State south of North Carolina, had been in operation since the 8th of February—South Carolina having seceded in December, 1860, Texas on the 1st day of February, and the other five States in January, 1861. The result of that election could have meant nothing else than the people's determination to hold in their own hands the matter of the State's relation to the Union, and not to commit that question to any representative body. It will not be out of place here to make a particular mention of one of the candidates from the county of Wake—W. W. Holden—for the reason that he was a most conspicuous figure during the entire period of the War.

Probably he was, in North Carolina, generally regarded as an original secessionist. The contrary is certainly true. He spoke strongly in the Charleston convention for the Union, and he was, and was known to be, by those familiar with public affairs, before the President's proclamation of the 15th of April, opposed to taking any steps to sever the State's relation with the Federal Government. In a Union meeting in

Raleigh, November, 1860, he was the author of resolutions adopted, that were strongly Union in sentiment and in language. In *State Rights and Political Parties in North Carolina** it is said that in a joint discussion with his State Rights opponent, February 14th (1861), Mr. Holden denied the right of a State to secede from the Union, favored the Crittenden compromise, and asserted that it was the duty of the Federal Government to reinforce and defend Fort Sumter and that the passage of troops across North Carolina for that purpose should not be resisted. In a foot-note the author states that the *State Journal* of February 20, 1861, had a full report of that speech with severe criticism. He was deprived of the State printing by the Legislature in December, 1860, because he was a Unionist, and was superseded by an Englishman, by birth, naturalized on the April before, without interest in slaves and an avowed disunionist.† The Legislature was by a very large majority Unionist, but the secessionists in that body, by adroit management in a caucus of the party, contrived the defeat of Mr. Holden. He signed the ordinance of secession but every other Unionist in the convention did likewise. They were all against the coercion of the South and had been for withdrawing from the Union since Mr. Lincoln's proclamation of 15th of April. The forty and more members who, like Mr. Graham and Mr. Badger, favored an ordinance of withdrawal based on the idea of revolution and who afterwards voted for and signed the ordinance of secession, did so after, upon a test vote, Mr. Badger's proposed ordinance favoring revolution had been rejected. The revolutionists deemed it unwise to continue a division upon the difference between a withdrawal upon revolutionary principles and withdrawal by secession.

But on the 12th of April, 1861, at 4:00 a. m., the Confederates made an attack on Fort Sumter. On the next day the Fort was surrendered, and on the 14th was evacuated. On the following day, the 15th, the President of the United States issued that celebrated proclamation (in which he called upon the several States, including the border States, to furnish their quota of militia to suppress what he termed the unlawful combination of the seven Confederate States and to execute the laws) and within a few weeks the States of Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina and Arkansas seceded.

The people of those States felt that that proclamation brought squarely before them the choice between fighting for the Union or for the Confederate States—for the North or for the South. Under that dilemma they decided to take their stand with the South. No doubt the

* Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, Ph.D.

† Correspondence of Johnathan Worth.

slave-holding element was moved also by the still further motive of interest in their slave property. They believed, as matters stood, that that institution could be preserved only through a coalition with the seceding States, and the success of secession. The ties of kinship and friendship and intermarriage between those States and the Southern States were additional inducements to decide their choice.

Before that proclamation was issued the people of those border States did not think that the grievances of which South Carolina and the Gulf States complained had been of sufficient consequence to justify secession; especially did they not think that the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency, even though he was chosen by one section and was opposed, certainly, to the extension of slavery, was a sufficient excuse for such action. And besides, they felt that they could not, in good faith, take such a step after they had contested his election with all their might and had been beaten only because of discord and divisions amongst themselves.

The States of Virginia and Tennessee, unwilling to adopt the permanent Constitution of the Confederate States, made a temporary alliance with that Government in which it was stipulated that until the Union of those commonwealths with the Confederacy, according to the Constitution of each power, should be perfected, the whole military force and operations of the two States in the impending conflict with the United States, should be under the chief control and direction of the President of the Confederate States as if they were then members of the Confederate States. And, here, I trust that a slight digression will be excused:

Nothing in all history is more nobly pathetic than the environment of the people of those two States at that time. They saw ahead of them ruined homes, the slaughter of their young men and the destruction of their property. Never was that passage of Scripture, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends," been more appropriately applied than to the people of those States in that great crisis. They sacrificed themselves in a quarrel which was not their own. And the same can be said of the people of North Carolina.

The Government of the Confederate States, and the leaders not in official life, knowing that the movement must collapse unless the border States could be brought in with them, by management and persistence finally had their way, and made Virginia and Tennessee their battleground and protected themselves from invasion by land till the catastrophe came.

There is an association between the old Mother of States and her great son, Robert E. Lee, which is ever present in the mind of all

Southerners, especially in connection with the calamitous times of secession and war. More than thirty years of his life had been given to the military service of his country. His personal character was more admirable even than his military genius and accomplishments. He had not only the confidence of his countrymen in the North and in the South, but their affectionate interest. He loved his whole country, and whatever may be said to the contrary he had no patience with the doctrine of secession, and did not think the time for revolution had come when the seven Southern States seceded. He thought, from the viewpoint of the Constitution that the South had not received that treatment on the question of slavery which was agreed on in that instrument, but that that matter could and should have been arranged if sensible and honest efforts had been made for that purpose; and he said so—in some of his letters to his family, and particularly on his examination before the Congressional Committee in Washington. He opposed slavery and thought, and said, it was morally and politically wrong; and he had liberated his own slaves before the war closed. He was a very great man. He was not only great as a soldier—in the same class with the great Frederick—but he was the statesman of the South. His letters to his family, and those to the officials of the Confederate Government, and the orders from his headquarters and his course after the war prove his greatness as a civilian.

So great a man was General Lee that what course he would have pursued if his own State had not seceded has been a question of most intense interest to many thoughtful people. One of the most notable scenes in American history was that of his installation as Commander-in-Chief of the forces of Virginia, in the convention hall in Richmond, on the 23d of April, 1861. The President of the convention said, in investing him with supreme military power: "Sir, we have by this unanimous vote expressed our conviction that you are, at this day, among the living citizens of Virginia, 'first in war.'" Three days after that event the State of Virginia, through its convention, entered into the temporary alliance with the Confederate States, heretofore mentioned, by which the whole military affairs and military resources of the State were turned over to the President of the Confederate States, exclusively, and General Lee was again a private citizen, no special provision having been made for his official rank. One look, one gesture, in opposition, would have defeated the alliance. But it was not given.

He had resigned his commission in the army of the United States only after Virginia had seceded and in his letter to General Scott, of date April 20, 1861, in which he enclosed his resignation (requesting General Scott to deliver it at the proper office) he wrote, among other

things, "Save in defense of my native State I never desire again to draw my sword." He afterwards led the Southern armies with wonderful ability and on many victorious fields, but it may be that if Virginia had not seceded his sword would have been drawn for the Union.

It is certain that, when he resigned his commission in the United States Army, April 20, 1861, he had no idea of entering the service of the Confederate States. In his celebrated letter to Reverdy Johnson, dated the 25th of February, 1868, among other things he wrote: "Upon reflection after returning to my home I concluded that I ought not to retain the commission I held in the United States Army, and on the second morning thereafter [alluding to his interviews with General Scott and Mr. Blair, two days before] I forwarded my resignation to General Scott. At the time I hoped that peace would have been preserved; that some way would have been found to save the country from the calamities of war; and I then had no other intention than to pass the remainder of my life as a private citizen."

In more than one historical writing it is affirmed that, in the celebrated interview between himself and Mr. Francis P. Blair, in which Mr. Blair, at the suggestion of Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, and General Scott, at the instance of President Lincoln offered to Colonel Lee the command of the Union Army, Colonel Lee declined the appointment saying that, though he opposed secession and deprecated war, he would take no part in the invasion of the Southern States. That answer of Colonel Lee to Mr. Blair's proposal is found in a letter from Colonel Lee to Reverdy Johnson, of date February 25, 1868, and was written under the following circumstances: General Lee had just seen the report of a speech made by Mr. Cameron, in the Senate of the United States, in which the Senator declared that on the 18th of April, 1861, Colonel Lee called on a gentleman who had his, Cameron's, entire confidence and intimated that he would like to have the command of the Army. That he assured that gentleman, who was in the confidence of the Administration, of his entire loyalty and devotion to the interests of the Administration and the country; that he and General Scott approved of the plan of placing Colonel Lee at the head of the Army; that the place was offered to Lee, and that he accepted the office, verbally, with the promise that he would go into Virginia, settle his business and then come back to take command. Reverdy Johnson replied to Cameron's speech, saying, that he doubted the correctness of Cameron's statements. General Lee, then, wrote the letter above referred to in which he thanked Johnson for his kindness, and continuing, wrote: "I never intimated to any one that I desired the command

of the United States Army, nor did I ever have a conversation with but one gentleman, the Hon. Francis P. Blair, on the subject, which was at his invitation and, as I understood, at the instance of President Lincoln. After listening to his remarks, I declined the offer he made to take command of the Army that was to be brought into the field, stating as candidly and courteously as I could that though opposed to secession and deprecating war, I could take no part in an invasion of the Southern States." In the same letter General Lee said: "I went directly from the interview with Mr. Blair to the office of General Scott, and told him of the proposition that had been made to me, and my decision."

In the *National Intelligencer* of the issue of August 9, 1866, appeared a letter from Montgomery Blair, former Postmaster-General in Mr. Lincoln's cabinet, in which he stated that "General Lee said to my father when he was sounded by him, at the request of President Lincoln, about taking command of our Army against the rebellion, then hanging upon the decision of the Virginia Convention, 'Mr. Blair, I look upon secession as anarchy. If I owned the four millions of slaves at the South, I would sacrifice them all to the Union; but how can I draw my sword upon Virginia, my native State?' He could not determine then; said he would consult with his friend General Scott, and went on the same day to Richmond probably to arbitrate difficulties; and we see the result."

Neither General Scott nor General Lee ever made a full statement of what happened between them on that memorable day. Mr. Cameron heard not a word of the conversation between Colonel Lee and Mr. Blair, and Montgomery Blair's letter in the *National Intelligencer* as to Colonel Lee's decision is at best hear-say evidence. General Lee's letter to Reverdy Johnson is direct and clear; and is a positive denial that he either accepted the appointment or that he held it under consideration or advisement. His statement is consistent with his character and must be taken as true.

The expression in General Lee's letter to Reverdy Johnson, that "though opposed to secession and deprecating war, I could take no part in an invasion of the Southern States," may probably be regarded as inadvertent, especially when it is considered in connection with the other statement made by him in reference to the motives which influenced him in leaving the service of the United States. That letter was intended to meet the charge of bad faith and dishonorable ambition which had been made in the Senate by Mr. Cameron, and not to make a declaration upon the question as to whether sympathy for the Southern States influenced

his course or whether he was controlled by the political principle, we know he held fealty and prime allegiance to his own State.

In his letter to General Scott enclosing his resignation of his commission in the army, written on the 20th of April, 1861, two days after his interviews with Mr. Blair and General Scott, and three days after the secession ordinance of the Virginia Convention had been passed, he refers to his interview with General Scott and declares that his resignation "would have been presented at once but for the struggle it has caused me to separate myself from a service to which I had devoted the best years of my life, and all the ability I possessed; and he closed the letter by saying, "Save in defense of my native State, I never again desire to draw my sword."

His intentions and motives are fully expressed in a letter to his sister, written on the day of his letter to General Scott and is so important that I will quote it:

ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA, April 20th, 1861.

MY DEAR SISTER:—I am grieved at my inability to see you. * * * I have been waiting for a more convenient season, which has brought to many before me deep and lasting regret. We are now in a state of war which will yield to nothing. The whole South is in a state of Revolution into which Virginia, after a long struggle, has been drawn; and though I recognize no necessity for this state of things, and would have forborne and pleaded to the end, for redress of grievances real or supposed, yet in my own person I had to meet the question, whether I had to take part against my native State. With all my devotion to the Union, and to the feeling of loyalty and duty of an American citizen, I have not been able to make up my mind to raise my hand against my relatives, my children, my home. I have, therefore, resigned my commission in the army and save in defense of my native State, with the sincere hope that my poor services may not be needed, I hope I may never be called upon to draw my sword. I know you will blame me, but you must think of me as kindly as you can, and believe that I have endeavored to do what is right.

In answer to the address of the President of the Convention of Virginia, April 23, 1861, in conferring upon him the command of the forces and resources of that State, General Lee said: "I would have preferred your choice had fallen upon an abler man. Trusting in Almighty God, an approving conscience, and the aid of my fellow-citizens, I devote myself to the service of my native State, in whose behalf, alone will I ever again draw my sword."

He was in Texas on frontier duty until a few days before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, in command of the Second United States Cavalry, as Lieutenant-Colonel and Brevet Colonel. He was in Washington on inauguration day and was in close association with General Scott.

President Lincoln nominated him on March 21, 1861, as Colonel First Cavalry and the United States Senate confirmed the nomination on March 23d. Two days afterward he was commissioned Colonel by the President, to take rank from March 16, 1861. He received the commission March 28 and accepted it, by letter, March 30, 1861.

We have traced the temper and feeling of the people of the border States, and of North Carolina particularly, toward secession and disunion up to the time of the President's proclamation of April 15, 1861, and the change of sentiment after that time in relation thereto including the ordinances of secession and their ratification of the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States. We must now turn our attention to an examination of the political history of the seven States which originally composed the Confederacy. From the time of Mr. Calhoun's *manifesto* that the slavery question must be pressed, the cause of secession and disunion grew in the South. It manifested itself in the speeches on the hustings, and in conventions called for political purposes, notably the ones in Nashville and Charleston. One part of the people represented by Mr. Rhett and Mr. Wigfall and Mr. Yancey were called disunionists, Secessionists *per se*, and the other part lead by Mr. Davis and Mr. Toombs declared themselves unionists upon condition that their demands concerning slavery were acceded to by the free States. The leaders, all, were, in fact, *ultras* and many of them violent and aggressive and uncompromising in their opinions and in the expression of them. But they were all for secession after Mr. Lincoln's election. On the 5th of January, 1861, the senators from Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas held a secret meeting in Washington and adopted resolutions that the Southern States should secede "as soon as may be"; that provision should be made for a convention to organize a confederacy of the seceded States, the convention to meet not later than the 15th of February at the city of Montgomery; that in view of hostile legislation threatened against the seceding States and which might be consummated before the 4th of March instructions were asked whether the delegates were to remain in Congress until that date for the purpose of defeating such legislation; and that a committee be, and is, hereby appointed consisting of Mr. Davis, Mr. Slidell and Mr. Mallory to carry out the objects of the meeting. These resolutions were in the handwriting of Senator C. C. Clay of Alabama, and were signed by the Senators of all the seceding States including Mr. Jefferson Davis and Mr. Toombs.* The seven Southern States named acted on these resolutions. The convention met on the 4th of

*War Records, Series 1, Vol. I, p. 443 *et seq.*

February, 1861, at Montgomery, and adopted the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States on the 8th of the same month.

It appears from what has been said that the facts are clear that the confederation of the seceding States contained discordant elements, incongruous constituents; that for many years before the agitation over slavery culminated in war, there were strongly marked differences between the people of the border States and those of the Gulf States on the subject of their relations to the Union; and that the border States disapproved the action of the other States in their attempt to withdraw from the Union for the cause which they assigned; and that when the States of North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Arkansas passed their ordinances of secession and united their fortunes with those of the original seceding States, they did so, simply and purely, for the reason that they believed they had to take that course or join the United States Government in its policy of coercion; that they had to fight for the Union or for the Confederacy. It appears also that the border States were conservative, and disposed to give the duly elected President the opportunity of administering the affairs of government, and that the Gulf States in the judgment of the others were premature and unjustifiable in their acts of secession.

When the border States entered the Confederacy of course they found that government in the hands of the extremists. It is idle to speak of Mr. Davis, the President, of Mr. Stephens, the Vice-President, of the heads of departments, Mr. Toombs, Mr. Benjamin, Mr. Mallory, Mr. Walker, and of the leaders of the Congress or Convention, including Mr. Wigfall, the two Cobb brothers—Howell and Thomas R. R.—and Mr. Rhett as conservatives or moderates. Without going into their political antecedents to show that they were extremists, it is enough to say that Mr. Toombs, Mr. Davis, Mr. Benjamin, Mr. Mallory and all the other Senators from the States of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas signed the resolutions of the 5th of January, 1861; that Mr. Davis, after four years of the most disastrous war on record and with a remnant of his armies of only about 20,000, and they on the western side of the Mississippi, under General Kirby Smith, proposed to his generals and cabinet officers still further resistance to a well organized and well equipped army of a million veterans. Mr. Stephens, in a public speech on the military policy of the Confederate States, said if Maryland should secede, the District of Columbia would revert to the State with all the public buildings, and the governmental equipment would follow the reversion, and that the Confederacy would make good her demand. Mr. Walker, the Secretary of War, in a public speech, in Montgomery, after Sumter was fired

on and captured, declared that the Stars and Bars would soon float over the dome of the Capitol in Washington. Mr. Mallory said to Bishop Quintard after he was captured in his flight from Richmond and was in the hands of the Federal authorities in Atlanta, "That his greatest regret was that he had spent four years of his life in working for a people unfit for independence." *

And the extremists kept control of every department of government, except that of war, to the last. And everybody knew that the Department of War was under the direct and absolute control of Mr. Davis. Mr. Seddon and Mr. Randolph were mere figure-heads. In a letter written by Mr. Benjamin from London, after the war, to General Long, formerly of General Lee's staff, in answer to a request for some information about a matter connected with the civil government of the Confederacy, and written in Mr. Davis's lifetime, he wrote that he would be glad to give the information wanted; that he knew nothing about the details of governmental matters but that he had thorough knowledge of all important policies of the government, and, to all that were on the inside it was known that he had written every important State paper or message issued and signed by the President of the Confederate States, Mr. Davis being too busy with military affairs to give his attention to civil matters.

In the various departments and sub-departments of government, the border-states were accorded scant recognition. Virginia was represented in the Department of State, for a few months by Mr. Hunter, and by Mr. Randolph, as Secretary of War for a few months. And it is true that Mr. Seddon served as Secretary of War for more than two years, but that office and that officer were absolutely under the influence and control of the President, and that subordinate had no influence either with the Confederate Government or with the State Government of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas fared worse than Virginia. During the whole course of the war, no cabinet position was filled by any one from either of these States, except that ex-Governor Bragg of North Carolina was Attorney-General for about five months and Mr. George Davis of the same State held the same position for a year.

Those States had no part or lot in the policies of Government. The officers in capacity of assistants to the cabinet officers, and the chief clerks in the bureaus all went to South Carolina and the Gulf States. There were no appointees from the border States in and around the executive offices of any prominence.

*Quintard Memoirs, p. 143.

In the conduct of military affairs the same policy of favoritism prevailed. Out of the seven active, full generals in the Confederate service, five were from the original seceding States. The most glaring instance of unjust, as well as unwise discrimination, was that of the long delayed assignment of General Lee to a proper and suitable command. We have seen that the convention of Virginia had declared him to be among living Virginians, "First in War," and had commissioned him Major-General and placed him in command of all the Virginia troops and military resources; that Mr. Lincoln, through Mr. Blair, had tendered him the highest command in the Union army; that General Scott thought him the best soldier in the old army. And yet General Beauregard of Louisiana, a captain of engineers in the United States Army when he resigned his commission, was placed in command of the Confederate army, at Manassas, the first real clash at arms between the two sections, the Federal army being known to be larger than the Confederate, and better armed and equipped. General Lee had been sent to the mountains of West Virginia, then to the lowlands of Georgia to plan and construct defenses against naval attacks, then called to the place of advising Mr. Davis in military matters, at Richmond; and it was only after General Beauregard and Mr. Davis had fallen out and quarreled, after General Albert Sidney Johnston had been killed at Shiloh and after General Joe Johnston had been temporarily disabled at Seven Pines that General Lee was given his proper place, the command of the Army of Northern Virginia.

The discrimination against North Carolina in military matters seems to be almost offensive. Our State sent to the Confederate armies in *the field* for active service more *infantry* soldiers than did any other State of the Confederacy. Its losses in killed and mortally wounded were larger than those of any other State of the Confederacy, nearly three times as large as Virginia's or Georgia's or Alabama's or Mississippi's. North Carolina had out of the seven full generals not one. General Bragg, it is true, was born in North Carolina, but for years and years he had been a private citizen and resident of the State of Louisiana, and was appointed as from the latter State. North Carolina had only one of nineteen lieutenant-generals, and that one of no recognized ability, except in the estimation of the President. General D. H. Hill was never a lieutenant-general, although he was, in North Carolina, generally regarded as having attained that rank. He commanded the two divisions of Cleburne and Breckenridge at Chickamauga, and it was thought that his long and able service as a major-general was at last to be recognized by a well deserved promotion, but the President did not send his name to the Senate for the confirmation

of such appointment and, of course, it was never made. Shortly after the battle of Chickamauga, Generals Buckner, Polk, Longstreet, Cleburne, Brown, and other generals signed and sent to the President a petition asking for the removal of General Bragg. General Hill, his friends said, was the last officer who signed the petition, but that his headquarters being central, the petition was left there for the convenience of those who might wish to sign it. Mr. Davis resented the action of the generals, and thought that General Hill was the leader of the movement. Hon. A. C. Avery, who was then on General Hill's staff, and present, in his memorial address on General Hill, gives the following reasons for the President's action: "Mr. Davis was induced to believe that Hill was the originator and most active promoter of the plan to get rid of Bragg, as a chief, and both the President and General Bragg determined to visit that whole sin of the insubordination of inferior officers of that army on him. His name was not sent to the Senate for confirmation, as lieutenant-general, and the repeated efforts of Johnston backed by many of his subordinates, to have Hill returned to the command of a corps, were refused up to the last campaign of Johnston in North Carolina."

The State had only six major-generals. General Whiting was not a North Carolinian when he was appointed to that office, nor at any other time. He was born in Mississippi, educated in Boston and at Georgetown College and at West Point. He tendered his services to the State of Georgia and was commissioned, by that State, major of engineers.

North Carolina had only twenty brigadier generals, while South Carolina had twenty-five, Georgia thirty-six, Alabama twenty-eight, and Texas, Louisiana, and Florida, whose combined troops did not number two-thirds of the number furnished by North Carolina, had fifty-six.

The course of North Carolina immediately following her act of secession differed from that of Virginia, Tennessee and Arkansas, although, as we have seen, the sentiment and feelings of her people on the question of secession were similar. Those States adopted the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States, simply. They chose to have temporary alliance with that government. But on the very day of the assembling of the North Carolina convention, 20th of May, 1861, after the ordinance of secession had been passed and the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States adopted, an ordinance was introduced for the ratification of the permanent Constitution of that Government. There was strong opposition to the measure, its opponents being led by Governor Graham, a statesman, and deemed by the people of the State, generally, the best equipped man for public service within her borders. It must be understood, however, that he

was not opposing the withdrawal of North Carolina from the Union at that time. He favored that step then and had voted for it in the Convention. But his opposition was to the casting of the State's lot permanently with the Confederacy. There was much discussion until finally, on the 6th of June, after various amendments, some favoring provisional ratification, and others the incorporation in the ordinance, in explicit language, the right on the part of the State to secede or withdraw, without giving any reason therefor and without the consent of the other States, were rejected, an agreement was reached by which the entire text of the permanent Constitution of the Confederate States, itself, was incorporated into the ordinance and made a part of it. The journal of the convention does not contain the grounds on which Governor Graham based his objection, nor do the newspapers of the time give them in full. But in Mr. Montford McGehee's address on the "Life and Character of William A. Graham," delivered in Raleigh before the bench and bar of the Supreme Court, July 18, 1876, the speaker said in reference to Gov. Graham's action: "In the perilous career upon which we were about to enter, he was unwilling to surrender the sovereignty of the State into the hands of those whose rash counsels had, in the judgment of the people of North Carolina, precipitated the war. He wished the State to hold her destinies in her own hands, that she might act as exigencies might require. Those who realized the delusive views under which the Government at Richmond acted during the last months of the war will see in this opinion another proof of his wise foresight."

That convention was dominated, however, by Governor Ellis, Mr. A. W. Venable and Mr. Thomas L. Clingman, disunionists, and the latter a United States Senator.

It is easy to see from the records and public documents, to say nothing of personal recollections and traditional accounts, that the connection of North Carolina with the Confederate States was one growing out of the supposed common danger and the necessities of the hour, and not one of congeniality or sympathy. It also appears from the same sources that the people of the State were jealous of their rights, suspicious of encroachment upon them by the Confederate powers, and at the same time determined that they would live under a government of laws and not of men. It was not many months after the Permanent Constitution was adopted before there were murmurings because of alleged favoritism in governmental appointments to office, both civil and military, because of the political opinions of the appointees. The charge was that only those who were original secessionists were recog-

nized. There must have been foundation for this allegation for it was taken notice of by the convention itself in the fall of 1861 and deprecated by resolution of that body. The rejoicings over first Bull Run, the easy-going manner of Gov. Clark, the excitement of mobilizing the troops and the cessation of military operations through the fall and winter kept in abeyance serious complaint. But when the winter was over and the Confederate authorities were aroused from their lethargy to find that in the interval the United States Government had organized in Virginia an army of more than 100,000 men, well disciplined and equipped and ready to march, and that it had become necessary to pass laws of conscription to recruit the Southern armies as well as to keep in the ranks those already in the service whose terms of enlistment were about to expire, open complaint and opposition were heard on all sides. The situation was pressing, the crisis acute, and probably without full consideration laws were enacted by the Congress, on the 16th of March, 1862, conscripting all able-bodied men from eighteen to thirty-five. The ablest constitutional lawyers in the South thought the acts were unconstitutional, that the Government could go no further than to call upon the States for their respective quotas of men, leaving the manner of raising them to the States themselves. That was also Mr. Stephens' view of the law, as well as one of the causes of his disagreement with Mr. Davis. He, with large numbers all through the South, especially in North Carolina and Georgia, declared openly that the Southern cause was doomed hopelessly if it had to depend upon conscription to form its armies. That would seem to be a perfectly true proposition today. But in addition, the conscript laws were harsh and unjust and the methods prescribed for their enforcement infringed every principle of liberty; and their exemptions were so flagrantly unfair to the great body of the people as to call forth opposition and even hatred among the people generally. These laws and the spirit which dictated their enactment were resented in North Carolina and the people in that State were not slow in making their complaints felt. And the opposition grew louder and stronger as the war progressed and as the loss of life and property increased. Under its baneful enforcement and its system of exemptions, and by the appointment by the executive and legislative departments of men of influence and wealth to places of safety and obscurity, it was seldom that there could be seen in the ranks, with a musket, a man from that class of the people. As an evidence of how these favoritisms and exemptions were carried on, some extracts from a letter written by General Bragg, General D. H. Hill, General Polk, General Stewart, General Cleburne and other distinguished Confederate soldiers on July 25, 1863, to General Cooper.

adjutant and inspector general may be cited: They wrote, "to their lasting reproach upon their manhood, hearty, vigorous young men rather than take the field, eagerly seek fancy duty which could be performed by women or disabled soldiers. And again another heavy source of depletion to the army cannot be passed over. The friends of timid and effeminate young men are constantly besieging the war department through congressional and other agents to get soldiers in the army placed upon details or transferred to safe places. The aggregate loss to the army from this cause alone is most enormous." And once more, "but we especially deplore that unfortunate provision of the exemption bill which has allowed more than 150,000 soldiers to employ substitutes, and we express our honest conviction that not one in a hundred of these substitutes is now in the service."

The people of this State not only opposed the conscript and exemption laws but they were incensed at the discrimination made by the Confederate government against them in its enforcement. In North Carolina, the homes were raked as by a fine-tooth comb. The law was not only rigidly enforced, but thoroughly. In no other State was that the case. In parts of Virginia there was enforcement and in Georgia and South Carolina it was partially carried out, but in the other States enforcement was a failure. The captions of reports to the government on conscription, made by enrolling officers from several of the States are misleading. The large number of conscripts mentioned by General Pillow as having been sent to the western army were not recruits but deserters and absentees without leave.

The execution in the main of the conscription laws in North Carolina was devolved upon Governor Vance, who was inaugurated on the 8th of September, 1862. The character of Governor Vance is so well portrayed by his biographer, Mr. Clement Dowd, that I use it for my purpose here. The author writes, "His temper was admirable, calm, well balanced, serene. * * * He was never confused, rarely impatient, seldom nervous and never weak.* * * Suffering touched him to the quick. He was compassion itself to distress. * * * He had deep, profound impulses, strong and passionate resentments; in the heat of conflict he was inexorable, but his generosity, his magnanimity, his sense of justice were deeper and stronger and better than the few passions of his proud nature."

He was one of the people in aspiration, in ambitions and in sympathies, and he loved the State with a constant affection.

The Chief Executive of the Confederate States, Mr. Jefferson Davis, was both a statesman and a politician. He was scholarly in his tastes and his well chosen library was filled with books, mostly English as

contra-distinguished from miscellaneous, but he was practical in his methods and thoughts. He had many noble traits, but lacked one of the fundamentals, the true sense of practical justice. This proceeded, probably from an infirmity of temper which his admirers called firmness, his acquaintances, obstinacy, and his enemies, tyranny. He was never in touch with the great body of people and his name held no charm for the soldiers of the South. He once wrote, "Our slaves sustain the happiest relation that labor can sustain to capital. It is a paternal institution." He was not the one to lead the Southern revolt.

Governor Vance in the beginning of his administration determined, certainly, upon maintaining the supremacy of the law over the military; upon contriving provision for the soldiers in the field and their families at home, and upon lightening the burdens imposed by the war and ameliorating the harshness of the enforcement of the conscription laws.

Governor Vance's State policy naturally and inevitably led to conflicts with the Confederate authorities. The enforcement of the conscript laws by the Confederate government, through its own officers, meant despotism. Such an undertaking under like circumstances was never known before in the annals of time. A war raised on a revolt against alleged unbearable wrongs and oppressions, the revolutionists shouting the slogan, we fight for our homes and our firesides, our wives and our children, and calling upon God and the nations to frown upon their enemies for their cruelties and oppressions, to be after a year's time left for its support on conscripted soldiers, alone, was never heard of before. The jails and the prisons throughout the land were filled with the unhappy victims of the scheme. Detectives, special guards, even blood hounds, were all employed in the search, and railroad conductors and other trainmen were authorized to inspect their trains and to arrest and deliver to the military authorities all between the prescribed ages who could not show furloughs or passports. General Howell Cobb, he who presided over the convention at Montgomery, wrote to the Secretary of War as follows: "It would require the whole army to enforce the conscript law if the same state of things exists throughout the Confederacy as I know is the case in Georgia and Alabama and I may add Tennessee." There came, as was to be anticipated, clashes between the State courts of North Carolina and the Confederate authorities over the illegal seizure by the enrolling officers of citizens of the State, the military officers claiming to decide the question of jurisdiction themselves. Governor Vance determined that the Supreme Court of North Carolina was to be the final arbiter in such seizures and that the decisions of that Court should be upheld and enforced; and on two occasions he issued through his adjutant general an order that,

"militia officers are ordered not to arrest any man as a conscript or deserter who may have been discharged by a writ of Habeas Corpus tried before any Judge of the Supreme or Superior Court of this State. They are further ordered to resist any such arrest upon the part of any person not authorized by the legal process of a court having jurisdiction in such cases." Governor Vance only contended for the plain constitutional rights of the people of his State and fought the encroachment of military powers. But for the successful contest that he made the conscription could not have been enforced in this State. It reassured the people and made them willing to submit to lawful authority. Additional friction was produced between the two governments because of the appointment by the Confederate authorities of a commandant of conscripts for our State of a soldier from another State, and the discharge of the duties of that office for several months by that appointee. That whole business was resented by our people and by Governor Vance. He had great trouble in having the policy changed. On this subject he wrote to the secretary of war, January 20, 1863, as follows: "Having furnished as many troops for the service of the Confederacy as any other State, and being, as I was assured by the President, far ahead of all others in the number raised under the conscript law, the people of this State have justly felt mortified in seeing those troops commanded by citizens of other States, to the exclusion of the claims of their own. This feeling is increased and heightened into a very general indignation when it is thus officially announced that North Carolina has no man in her borders fit to command her own conscripts, though scores of her noblest sons and best officers are now at home with mutilated limbs and shattered constitutions."

Probably the most serious breach between the Confederate government and the State government grew out of the purpose of that government to conscript the State officers appointed by Governor Vance. Such an attempt having been made the Governor addressed a letter to Colonel T. P. August, commander of conscripts on the 20th of March, 1863, in which he brought that dispute to a head. He wrote in part as follows: "Zealous as I have been and continue to be in the enforcement of the law, I cannot permit my own officers to be conscripted. The ground I shall assume is, that all State officers and employees necessary to the operation of this government—of which necessity I must judge—shall not be interfered with by the enrolling officers and any attempt to arrest such men will be resisted.

"This I deem not only necessary to the due administration of the government, but due the rights and dignity of the Sovereign State over whose destinies I have the honor to preside."

The appointment by the quartermaster general of the Confederate States of a soldier from Norfolk, Virginia, to the chief collectorship of the tax in kind in this State gave great offense and caused Governor Vance to enter a vigorous protest in writing to President Davis himself. In that letter he said "a great deal of harm has been done, and much dissatisfaction excited by the appointment of citizens of other States to offices and positions here that should of right be filled by our own people." * * * And he asked that a different appointment be made.

At the end of the year 1863, there undoubtedly was in North Carolina very great dissatisfaction with reference to the administration of the Confederate government. A great majority of the people, including a very great number of the most intelligent and responsible, thought that the time had arrived when the question of peace with the United States government should be considered. It was thought that the contest was hopeless after the surrender of Vicksburg and the defeat of the army of Northern Virginia at Gettysburg, and that the further effusion of blood and destruction of property should cease. The agitation died for lack of bold leadership, want of organization and fear of the Confederate powers. The bloodiest of all the military campaigns was soon to follow. Governor Vance's series of war speeches to the soldiers of General Lee's army, in the spring of 1864, were truly remarkable, and they enthused the whole army. They infused life and heart into the breast of the despondent soldiers; and the old State continued, to Appomattox, to perform well her part on every field. And she furnished more supplies for Lee's army than almost the entire South in the last months of the war.

But the peace *feeling* and *talk*—there was never any peace *movement*—was watched closely from Richmond, and, before the military campaign was opened, there was being made by Mr. Davis an effort to force his Congress to pass an act, or resolution, for the general suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*. Governor Vance became aware (unofficially) of it (the proceedings of the Confederate Congress being always in secret session) and put himself in position to test the constitutionality of the legislation, in our own State courts, and to resist it, if declared to be illegal. He wrote a letter to Mr. Davis protesting against the passage of such a law, on the 9th of February, 1864, that, to the end of time will be interesting to North Carolinians. In part he wrote: "I endeavored, soon after my accession to the Chief Magistracy of North Carolina, to make you aware of both the fact of disaffection in this State and the cause of it. In addition to the many letters to you, I have twice visited Richmond expressly to give you information on this

point. The truth is, as I have often said before, that the great body of our people have been suspected by their government, perhaps because of the reluctance with which they gave up the old Union, and I know you will pardon me for saying that this consciousness of their being suspected has been greatly strengthened by what seems to be a studied exclusion of the anti-secessionists from all the more important offices of the government, even from those promotions in the army which many of them had won by their blood. Was this suspicion just? And was there sufficient effort made to disprove that it existed, if it really did not exist at Richmond? Discussion, it is true, has been unlimited and bitter, and unrelenting criticism upon your administration has been indulged in, but where and when have our people failed you in battle, or withheld either their blood or their vast resources? To what exaction have they not submitted, what draft upon their patriotism have they yet dishonored?"

What steps the constituted authorities of the State may have taken in reference to her relations with the Confederate government after General Lee's surrender and General Sherman's successful invasion of the South, if the catastrophe of a complete collapse had not come so suddenly, can only be conjectured. It is probable that, in conjunction with Virginia, an effort would have been made to restore the State to her former position in the Union. Governor Graham was trying to bring about concerted action with that end in view. In a letter from him to Governor Swain of the 8th of April, 1865, he wrote, "I told him (Governor Vance) I should attend the session of the General Assembly, and, if desired would address them in secret session; that I had confidential conversations with a committee of the Virginia Legislature, which had taken a recess for ten days, and that it was important to act in concert with that body."

The North Carolina Convention of 1865-1866

BY J. G. DE ROULHIAC HAMILTON, ALUMNI PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

A true convention of the people, in theory the sovereign body of the State, must necessarily originate with the people, or their authorized representatives, uncontrolled by any exterior force, must be limited and bound, within the proper sphere of its action only by the people, and must be answerable only to them. Measured by this test, none of the so-called conventions which met in 1865 and 1866 in the late Confederate States were genuine conventions in a legal or historical sense since they were called into being by provisional governors, appointed by the President of the United States, exercising the war power inherent in his office of commander-in-chief of the armies of the victorious nation. In addition, they were responsible to him and acted under his instructions with their members chosen by only such classes of the voters as he selected and were deprived by the same authority of the services of many persons whom those voters would have chosen as delegates. Finally, with much of their action made well-nigh obligatory, they clearly fail to meet every test usually applied. Yet in spite of this defect, incident, as it must be concluded, to the revolution in progress at the time, to these bodies was intrusted a most important duty; upon them rested a burden of grievous responsibility; and in the maelstrom of conflicting public sentiment, a sentiment everywhere abnormal as a consequence of war, their position was one of infinite difficulty and the political danger from any mistake almost incalculable. That the convention of North Carolina made a few serious errors was an achievement of no little honor, the more remarkable in view of the fact that many of the State's chosen leaders were excluded and a majority of its members were comparatively inexperienced politically. It also speaks volumes for the leadership of the body.

On May 2, 1865, President Johnson began his policy of restoration by the issuance of a proclamation of amnesty and the appointment of William W. Holden as a provisional governor of North Carolina. This appointment carried with it authority to prescribe the necessary rules for calling and assembling a convention, the members of which should be chosen by that portion of the voting population which was loyal to the United States at the time of the election, the test of loyalty being the previous reception of pardon either individually or through the amnesty. This convention was given authority to exercise all powers

necessary to restore the State to her constitutional relations with the United States, and present such a republican form of government as would entitle the State to the guarantee of the United States against invasion, insurrection, and domestic violence. It was also directed to prescribe qualifications for electors and the holders of office.

Acting under this commission, Governor Holden organized a provisional government and took steps to cause the amnesty to be taken as widely as possible. He also recommended the pardon of more than a thousand persons who were excluded from the benefits of the amnesty. This took time and he was criticised for his delay in calling the convention, but with no justice, since his delay made it possible for many to vote who otherwise would have been disqualified for lack of pardon, and the convention was therefore a more representative body.

On the 8th of August, he issued a proclamation ordering the election of delegates to a convention which he called to meet on the second of October. The campaign that followed was almost devoid of interest so quiet was it and so marked by the absence of any discussion of issues. In the minds of the people, there were no issues. The war had forever abolished slavery and with it the right of secession, and while the question of the disposition of the war debt still remained and was a vital one, no one contended that it should be settled at once or that it was necessary for the convention to take action upon it at its first session. The *Standard*, Governor Holden's paper, early in the campaign declared for "the prompt non-recognition of debts contracted by the State in aid of the rebellion," but within the same month it carefully explained that by non-recognition" it meant that the convention should leave the matter untouched.

The election was held without disturbance and on the appointed day the convention met. An unofficial caucus was held the night before and a ballot taken to determine who should be unanimously elected president. Of one hundred and three votes cast, Judge Edwin G. Reade, of Person, received twenty-seven, eleven other candidates headed by Nathaniel Boyden, of Rowan, dividing the rest, and was therefore unanimously elected. The temporary occupant of the chair was Lewis Thompson, of Bertie. Judge Reade had long been eminent at the bar, had served a term in Congress where he won the distinction of being the only Southern member to vote to censure Keitt for his part in the assault of Brooks upon Sumner, had been for a short time a member of the Confederate Senate to fill the unexpired term of George Davis, had been elected to the Superior bench in 1863, and was at the time a justice of the Supreme Court under the provisional government. He was an admirable choice for presiding officer. Upon taking the chair,

he made a very eloquent address, particularly notable for this, which was widely quoted throughout the United States:

Fellow citizens, we are going home. Let painful reflections upon our late separation and pleasant memories of our early union quicken steps toward the old mansion, that we may grasp hard again the hand of friendship which stands at the door, and sheltered by the old homestead which was built upon a rock and has weathered the storm, enjoy together the long, bright future which awaits us.

As a whole probably, the membership of this convention was less able than that of 1861, but it was by no means lacking in power. Three of its members had been delegates to the convention of 1835. These were Thomas I. Faison, Alfred Dockery, and R. B. Gilliam. Twelve had been members of the secession convention. These were John Berry, Bedford Brown, R. P. Dick, George Howard, Giles Mebane, R. L. Patterson, R. S. Donnell, A. H. Joyce, E. J. Warren, D. H. Starbuck, and W. A. Smith. Two had been in the Confederate Congress, E. G. Reade and G. W. Logan, and two had been Union rangers. Among the members were six of Governor Holden's eight provisional judges, five of his eight provisional solicitors, and two of his personal military staff. A majority were middle-aged, very few being young or very old. The most prominent member and probably the ablest was B. F. Moore of Wake. His record as a Union sympathizer was unbroken, although he was unable to take the "iron-clad" oath, having been a member of the Board of Claims, elected by the convention of 1861. Thomas Settle, Judge George Howard, William Eaton, Jr., Nathaniel Boyden, Edward Conigland, Dennis D. Ferebee, Judge M. E. Manly, and Bedford Brown all took a prominent part in the debates and may be called the leaders of the convention.

The governor's message was very brief, containing but one suggestion, namely, that the Constitution should be amended so as to abolish slavery.

The work of the convention was begun by the appointment of a committee to suggest business for the body. The committee consisted of B. F. Moore, P. H. Winston, William Eaton, Jr., S. F. Phillips, M. E. Manly, W. P. Bynum, W. A. Wright, Alfred Dockery, and D. D. Ferebee. Its report provided for the appointment of eleven committees to consider the following subjects: the ordinance of secession, the abolition of slavery, revision of the Constitution, the General Assembly, amendments to the Constitution, justices of the peace, acts of the convention, legislature, and courts since 1861, redistricting the State, the submission of ordinances to the people, limitation of the legislature in regard to the indebtedness of the State, and the treasurer's

report. One of these committees, that on revision of the Constitution, deserves particular notice. It was composed of B. F. Moore, William Eaton, Jr., Tod R. Caldwell, and J. M. McCorkle. Very early in the session it became evident that there was a determination on the part of a considerable number of the delegates, notably B. F. Moore, to take advantage of this opportunity to revise the fundamental law, sadly in need of amendment, just as some of their predecessors in the convention of 1861 had sought to do. It was, however, informally determined that all matters of the sort should be delayed until the second session which was planned from the beginning.

In spite of the apparent unanimity which characterized the opening of the convention, sharp differences of opinion became evident when the body began to put into execution the purposes for which it had been called and which were, in brief, to undo the work of the convention of 1861 and, in fully recognizing the results of the war, give assurance for the future—to make true the declaration of Nathaniel Boyden that “neither principalities nor powers, nor things present nor things to come, nor life, nor death, nor any other creature shall hereafter separate North Carolina from the sisterhood of States.” The difference was at first, upon the surface, merely one of method; underneath there was a conflict of sentiment and opinion which was in many respects fundamental. In the manifestation of this difference, the minority had at least the better average of consistency; they displayed, if less adaptability, at least better taste, greater courage, and withal the finer spirit, because they were lacking in bitterness, even when accused, as they presently were, of treason and rebellion by those who, in 1861, without protest, even enthusiastically, had advocated secession as opposed to revolution as proposed by the Union Whigs led by Judge Badger. A shrewd observer of the proceedings of the convention, whose prejudices might have led him in the other direction, had this to say on the subject: “I was somewhat curious to see the Unionism of Western North Carolina, of which we heard so much during the war. Considerable of it, I am convinced, was less a love for the Union than a personal hatred of those who went into the rebellion.” “It needs to be continually borne in mind that much of the ‘Unionism’ of the State is mere personal bitterness towards Jeff Davis, or Governor Vance, or some less noted secession leader.” “For my final judgment with regard to the convention, I adopt the words of Judge Howard, and say that I have ‘more faith in those who, without making loud professions of what they have always felt and believed, honestly give up all their past ideas, and avow themselves henceforth good citizens of the United States, than in those whose fierce zeal for

the Union slumbered during all the years of secession, and only broke out in the hour of the triumph of the Union cause,' or, in other words, a conquered Rebel will, to my thinking, be much more easily converted into a good citizen than most of these North Carolina Unionists."

The first indication of division came when the convention began to discuss the abrogation of the ordinance of secession. So far as the end to be attained was concerned, the convention was a unit. Regarding the means, a decided difference was noticeable.—On the third day I. W. Jones, of Rowan, introduced an ordinance repealing the ordinance of secession, with a declaration that the convention in no sense endorsed the theory of secession, but wished simply to repeal the ordinance out of consideration for the feelings of their fellow citizens who had believed in it, and from a desire for cordial reconciliation. The same day, Nathaniel Boyden from the committee on the subject reported the following ordinance:

Be it ordained by the delegates of the good people of the State of North Carolina in convention assembled, and it is hereby declared and ordained that the ordinance of the convention of the State of North Carolina, ratified on the 21st day of November, 1789, which adopted the Constitution of the United States, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly ratifying and adopting amendments to the said Constitution, are now and at all times since the adoption and ratification thereof have been in full force and effect, notwithstanding the supposed ordinance of the 20th of May, 1861, declaring that the same be repealed, rescinded, and abrogated, and the said supposed ordinance is now and hath been at all times null and void.

The Jones ordinance was then tabled indefinitely without discussion. The following day, D. D. Ferebee offered a substitute, differing in form from the draft reported by the committee, and, in fact, embodying a compromise between this and the Jones ordinance. A sharp debate then followed, the opposition to the committee's ordinance being led by Judge Howard. He prefaced his speech with a declaration that he had voted heartily for secession, but, convinced that it was a failure, he was ready to do all in his power to effect a restoration; that so far as the United States was concerned, the ordinance of secession had always been null and void; but to the people of the State it was the charter under which they had lived and carried on a *de facto* government for four years, and he would not wrong them by taking it away. During the period of the war, the State, sustaining its action by arms, was to all intents independent, with all the machinery of government in the full exercise of its functions. If the ordinance of secession had no effect, all acts in the period following were null and void. He denied that the military power, while sustaining a theoretical inde-

pendence of the State, had succeeded in making independence actual for any period, and held that consequently opposition to the ordinance under discussion did not mean hostility to the restoration of the Union. Other members opposed the ordinance on the ground that it was a reflection on the convention of 1861, because the convention was by nature a legislative and not a judicial body.

B. F. Moore, who was the author of the committee's ordinance, said his main reason for favoring it was that through it the right of citizenship in the United States would be retained, and not otherwise. He did not believe that declaring the ordinance of secession null and void would permanently invalidate all acts done during the war, but said that the convention could make them valid by an additional ordinance. A great deal of feeling was shown in the debate by several of those favoring the Committee's ordinance. Judge Warren, who had voted for the ordinance of secession in 1861, declared that the object of the substitute was to "hoodwink" the convention into an endorsement of secession. S. F. Phillips voiced the sentiment of a large number when he said that as the convention of 1861 had expressed an opinion one way, a body of equal rank should register a counter opinion, and as the functions of a convention of the people were both legislative and judicial, it could either repeal or declare null and void the act of a former body. As secession was a creature of the mind and could not, in consequence, be affected by the success or failure of an army, it was necessary to declare against it.

The substitute was rejected by a vote of 94 to 20. The following voted nay: Alexander, Allen, Brown, Conigland, Eaton, Faison, Ferebee, Hanrahan, Howard, Jarvis, Joyner, Kennedy, Manly, McKay, McIver, Mebane, Murphy, Ward, Winborne, and Wright.

The original was then put upon its second reading and passed with nine still voting in the negative. These were Allen, Faison, Ferebee, Howard, Joyner, Manly, McKay, Murphy, and Ward. A few moments later it passed its third reading. Several delegates, including Judge Howard and Neill McKay, voted against it, and a still larger number, including Judge Manly and D. D. Ferebee, declined to vote. Sidney Andrews thus describes the scene:

It was late in the day and everybody was tired. "Let's suspend the rules and put the ordinance on its passage tonight," cried Settle, the fair, of Rockingham. Nobody objected, the rules were suspended, and the President stood up and demanded in a loud and measured voice, "This ordinance having been three times read, the question is, shall it pass?" Somebody raised the question that, not being an ordinance to amend the Constitution, it did not need three readings and was already passed. Several delegates

vociferated clamorous advice, and Mr. President, new in his duties, stood half bewildered. Settle cut the knot with his sonorous, "It's a good thing, and let's give it three readings, anyhow." So the measured voice again demanded, "Shall the ordinance pass?" There was a strong and exultant "Aye," the clear and emphatic "No" of Howard and McKay, the suggestive silence of Manly and Ferebee—and then the President's word of announcement, "The ordinance is passed."

Judge Howard relates that just before the third reading, Judge Manly and D. D. Ferebee were about to leave the hall but stayed with him. Settle was standing in the aisle and turned and said, "Howard, let it be unanimous. You have already voted." Judge Howard replied with emphasis, "I'll see you damned first."

By this act secession, already dead in North Carolina for some time past, was pronounced never to have had life.

The division appeared again in connection with the abolition of slavery. On the third day, Settle reported an ordinance forever abolishing slavery in the State. A few of the members attempted to have the cause of its abolition inserted as a preamble, but the plan failed, and two days later, the ordinance was passed unanimously. It was then provided that both ordinances should be submitted separately to the people at the next election. An amendment was offered to this, providing that the people should vote on the questions in the words, "Secession" or "No secession," and "Slavery" or "No slavery." This was purely for political purposes and was resented by those who had opposed the anti-secession ordinance. Judge Howard, in opposing the amendment, attacked sharply those who never spoke or acted for the Union until the Confederate cause was lost, and then became proscriptive and vindictive. This was directly aimed at several members of the convention and was applicable to many more.

The two chief objects of the convention were thus accomplished. Other matters of less importance, but still pressing, awaited settlement, and during the next two weeks action was taken upon them. The election of State and county officials, of members of the General Assembly, and of members of Congress was provided for. All laws, passed since 1861, not in conflict with the Federal Constitution and laws, were declared to be in full force, as were judicial decisions and contracts, and the General Assembly was directed to prescribe a scale of depreciation of Confederate currency for application to the latter. Acts of civil and military officers of the State or the Confederate States, in accordance with law, were declared valid, and such officers were relieved of any penalty. The acts of the provisional government were likewise declared valid. All offices, the incumbents of which had taken

the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy, were declared vacant. On the strength of *Hoke v. Henderson*, there was some opposition to this but the theory declared in *Butler v. Pennsylvania* prevailed and the Supreme Court of North Carolina in *Mial v. Ellington* has at a later day attested the correctness of their judgment. The State was divided into seven congressional districts, provision was made for a county police force, in spite of some doubt as to the wisdom of the proposition. and the President was petitioned to withdraw colored troops from the State, to proclaim a general amnesty, and to proclaim the people of North Carolina restored to their rights and privileges in the Union under the Constitution.

This completed the necessary work of the convention with the exception of consideration of the war debt. The committee appointed to consider the question recommended its postponement until the second session. An ordinance of repudiation, introduced by Settle, was tabled by a vote of 63 to 50 on the eleventh day of the session. This was in part due to a letter from Dr. R. J. Powell, the State agent at Washington, to Governor Holden, in which an account was given of separate conversations on the subject with every member of the Cabinet. Secretary Stanton refused to discuss the matter, but all the rest agreed that the convention ought not to take any action, at the time, in regard to the debt. This letter was circulated by the Governor himself and read by the majority of the members of the convention.

The matter seemed settled and, so far as can be judged from the press, the people approved. But a surprise was in store for the State and the convention, though not for certain individuals. Governor Holden, who had apparently favored the tabling of Settle's ordinance, either changed his mind or became aware that his views were not in accord with those of the President. Accordingly he telegraphed the latter as follows:

RALEIGH, October 19, 1865.

SIR:—Contrary to my expectation, the convention has involved itself in a bitter discussion of the State debt made in aid of the rebellion. A continuance of this discussion will greatly excite the people and retard the work of reconstruction. Our people are believed to be against assuming the debt by a large majority. Is it not advisable that our Convention, like that of Alabama, should positively ignore this debt now and forever? Please answer at once.

W. W. HOLDEN.

So far as this implied that a bitter discussion had occupied the formal proceedings of the convention, it was untrue. The whole matter had been tabled on October 13th with no prospect of any further action upon it during the session. The discussion had never been bitter and

had been very brief. The next day, Governor Holden sent to the convention the President's reply:

WASHINGTON CITY, October 18, 1865.

W. W. HOLDEN, *Provisional Governor*:—Every dollar of the State debt, created to aid the rebellion against the United States, should be repudiated, finally and forever. The great mass of the people should not be taxed to aid in carrying on a rebellion which they, in fact, if left to themselves, were opposed to. Let those who have given their means for the obligations of the State, look to that power they tried to establish in violation of law, Constitution, and the will of the people. They must meet their fate. It is their misfortune and they cannot be recognized by the people of any State professing themselves loyal to the government of the United States in the Union.

I repeat, that the loyal people of North Carolina should be exonerated from the payment of every dollar of indebtedness created to aid in carrying on the rebellion. I trust and hope that the people of North Carolina will wash their hands of everything that partakes in the slightest degree of the rebellion which has been so recently crushed by the strong arm of the government in carrying out the obligations imposed by the Constitution of the Union.

ANDREW JOHNSON,
President United States.

This telegram changed the sentiment of the convention. D. F. Caldwell said his opinion was changed by the knowledge of the President's desire and that he favored immediate repudiation. B. F. Moore, who had taken little part in the debate before, now became vehement in his opposition to immediate action. He opposed any acceptance of dictation from the President and criticised him sharply for sending the message. E. W. Brooks made a long and rather bitter speech, favoring repudiation on the ground that, as the object of the debt had been "the persecution of loyal persons," they should not be forced to bear the burden. Eugene Grissom, a close friend of Governor Holden, then moved an amendment to Settle's ordinance, providing for submitting the matter to the people. This was passed, but later reconsidered, and, the convention, deciding not to put the burden of decision upon the people, was rejected. Settle's ordinance was then passed. A protest against its passage was made by William Eaton, who was joined in it by ten other delegates. The ordinance imposed upon the General Assembly the duty of providing, as soon as practicable, for the payment of the State debt not incurred in aid of the war. It further declared all debts and obligations incurred in aid of rebellion void, and removed from the General Assembly all power to provide for their payment. President Johnson was notified of the convention's action in the following letter:

RALEIGH, October 20, 1865.

The President of the United States:

SIR:—The convention has adjourned. It promptly repudiated every dollar of the rebel debt and bound all future legislatures not to pay any of it. Your telegram had a most happy effect. The Worth faction is working hard but will be defeated by a large majority. Turner and other contumacious leaders ought to be handled at the proper time. Please pardon no leading man unless you hear from me.

W. W. HOLDEN.

On that day the convention, after passing a resolution of thanks to President Johnson and Governor Holden for their endeavors towards a restoration of the State to its rights in the Union, adjourned to meet again on May 24, 1866.

During the period between the two sessions, a bitter and exciting political campaign was carried on in which Jonathan Worth defeated Provisional Governor Holden for civil governor. He took his seat December 28, 1865. The result of the election made Holden very bitter and he sought earnestly though unsuccessfully to have the election set aside by the President that he might remain in office. A General Assembly was elected which at once ratified the Thirteenth Amendment. A full congressional delegation, J. R. Stubbs, C. C. Clark, T. C. Fuller, Josiah Turner, Bedford Brown, S. H. Walkup, and A. H. Jones, was chosen, who, with William A. Graham and John Pool, the two senators chosen by the legislature, presented themselves in Washington when the Thirty-ninth Congress assembled in December, 1865, but were not admitted to their seats, the Radicals already being determined to conduct Reconstruction themselves for the benefit of the Republican party.

When the convention assembled in May, opposition had developed to its taking any action in regard to the State Constitution. This opposition had a two-fold basis. A large number of lawyers opposed any action on the ground that the convention had been called for special purposes which it had accomplished at its first session, and that it should therefore adjourn *sine die*. Still others desired its dissolution because a large number of its members were supporters of Holden. They based their arguments upon the same reasons as the former class, but a difference is readily discernible. As soon as the convention met, resolutions for adjournment were introduced, declaring that it had no authority from the people, and consequently that any alteration of the fundamental law of the State, further than was required by existing conditions, would be revolutionary and dangerous. Without debate the resolutions were defeated by a vote of 61 to 30. S. F. Phillips at once attempted to secure the passage of a resolution directing a committee to prepare an ordi-

nance calling for a convention of the people to meet in 1871 to amend the Constitution, and providing for the dissolution of the existing body. He argued that as the chief matter of discussion was the question of a new basis of representation, it would be better to wait until the census of 1870 was taken. His resolution, however, was tabled and never acted upon.

Up to this time representation in the State had been based upon federal population. This worked an injustice to the West, and had been the cause of a long contest prior to the war. All efforts to secure a change had failed hitherto, but a new movement now began and was favored by the "straightest sect" or embryo Radical element as it would greatly increase the power of the West where their chief strength lay and might give the control of the next legislature into their hands.

The convention remained in session until late in June. Most of the time was spent in reconstructing the Constitution. The draft as proposed to the convention embodied most of the old instrument, with certain additions and amendments. Its arrangement was the work of B. F. Moore who was the most learned and experienced lawyer in the convention. Throughout the debates he was its strongest defender, and to him was largely due its adoption by the convention. It was provided that the new instrument should be submitted to the people for ratification and the date of the State election was changed to October in order to allow the new Constitution, if adopted, to go into effect. This was a shrewd political move by the "straightest sect" element who thought that by this they would gain control of the Legislature through the changed basis of representation. The influence of this element was much more apparent in the convention than in the General Assembly, but it was not strong enough to overcome the conservative forces. The whole session was marked by a series of compromises; so, if the advantage remained with any particular faction, it cannot be distinguished. The Constitution, as a whole, was not a matter on which the two factions divided, the vote, on its final adoption, being 63 to 30.

As submitted to the people, the Constitution was a more compact instrument than the original, for all the various amendments made from time to time were incorporated in their proper places. The only important change in the Bill of Rights was the addition of clauses prohibiting slavery, prohibiting the quartering of troops upon citizens except under certain laws, and providing that the courts should always be open to every person. The basis of representation for the House of Commons was changed to white population. The office of lieutenant-governor was established. No one could hold the office of governor or lieutenant-governor unless he had been a citizen of the United States for

twenty years, a resident of the State for five years immediately preceding the election, be thirty years of age, and possessed of land in fee to the value of \$2,000. Senators were required to be thirty years of age and possess three hundred acres of land in fee or a freehold of not less value than \$1,000. Members of the House of Commons were required to have a freehold of one hundred acres or to the value of \$300. Five years residence previous to election was required of the members of both houses. None but white persons, that is persons having less than one-sixteenth negro blood were eligible as voters or office-holders. All persons taking office were required to take, besides their official oath, one to support the State Constitution so far as it was not inconsistent with that of the United States. It was provided that no amendment should be made to the Constitution except through a convention. Magistrates were thereafter to be chosen by the people for a term of six years.

In addition to being more compact, the Constitution was clearer and fuller than the existing one. In fact, only one great fault could be found with it, considered in the light of its time, and that defect defeated it. As soon as it was submitted to the people an exceedingly able discussion of the question of ratification began. All the opposition of importance was based on the question of the validity of the action of the convention. Judge Ruffin and Judge Manly were probably the most influential and distinguished of its opponents. The former was opposed to the white basis of representation, but his chief argument was against the authority of the convention. He said that it had no more authority in law than any voluntary assemblage of persons, and on this ground advised the rejection of the Constitution. This involved a doubt of the validity of the convention's actions at its first session, and also raised a question as to the status of the governments of the various Southern States. Thaddeus Stevens later quoted him as an authority on his own position regarding them, saying, "I quote Judge Ruffin, one of the ablest and fairest of secessionists. The Chief Justice is right. Not a rebel State has this day a lawful government." Judge Manly objected to the Constitution itself, and also claimed that, while the convention had a valid existence and authority for the purpose mentioned by the President in his proclamation, it had none for any further action. William A. Graham was also among the number of its opponents.

As might be imagined, B. F. Moore was the strongest defender of the Constitution, or rather of the authority of the convention. Unfortunately, his main argument, a discussion of the war power of the President, and an exceedingly able one, did not appear until after the

Constitution had been rejected. It was written in reply to Judge Ruffin's argument, and while not showing, possibly, as great a respect for and knowledge of constitutional law as that of the former chief justice, it indicated a clearer perception of the changed conditions brought about by the war. Governor Worth also favored ratification, while Holden was a champion of the Constitution and said its rejection would be the worst blow that the President's policy had received. The *Sentinel* favored ratification without any enthusiasm on the subject.

The vote on the question was taken on August 2d, and resulted in the rejection of the Constitution by a majority of 1,982 out of a total vote of 41,122.

The work of the second session is notable in that it was, in a sense, a manifestation of a progressive spirit. The new Constitution was in itself a step in the direction of democracy and that was one reason for its defeat. Viewed from a practical standpoint, its rejection had little historical importance other than for the light it throws on the sentiment of the State, since the cataclysm of 1868 was inevitable. In fact so little did it impress itself upon the mind of the people that about ten years since two members of the convention, still mentally and physically alert, assured an historical investigator that the convention had never so much as considered the question of a new Constitution and that none was ever submitted to the people. This incident is only important as an instance of the utter unreliability of memory as a source for historical investigation when unsupported by contemporary documents.

What shall be said of the place of the convention in our history. Viewed from a severely practical standpoint it was a failure in the same sense that President Johnson's plan of restoration was a failure. But a larger and clearer vision will reveal it in a different light. It did not fail in that by its full and complete acceptance of the generous terms offered by the President, a too much maligned and too little appreciated son of North Carolina, who nevertheless at last seems secure of a high place in history, it proved the entire sincerity and honesty of the profession of the people of North Carolina that the decision of the God of Battles was regarded as final. The convention deserves some praise for what it did; it deserves much more for what it failed to do. I think it means something to us today that in the midst of trial, it kept the faith; that in the face of a great temptation to barter self-respect, it refused "to crook the pregnant hinges of the knee" that thrift might follow fawning.

John Henry Boner—An Appreciation

BY HENRY JEROME STOCKARD.

My acquaintance with Boner was made some three years before his death. I met him first when he came to Raleigh in search of a respite from the insidious disease that had fastened upon him, and the close friendship that developed between us in so short a time makes my regret all the keener that I did not know him longer.

From his ancestral home at Salem, N. C., he wandered a devious path. Of his earlier years we have scant record. He received an academic education and entered, we may surmise, upon the printer's trade. He was connected in an editorial way with papers in Salem and Asheville. In 1868 he served as Reading Clerk of the North Carolina Constitutional Convention, and 1869-'70 as Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives. It was during these years that he made the acquaintance of that fine spirit, Theo. H. Hill—an acquaintance that ripened into the tenderest affection. His last volume was dedicated to Hill, and it was through his efforts that the portrait of his friend was painted and hung in the State Library. In 1870 Boner married a relative of Hill, Miss Charlotte A. Smith, of Raleigh, who survives him. She now resides in Winston-Salem, N. C.

Boner was a Republican, and his activity in politics during the rancorous period of Reconstruction made him an alien among his own people. For this reason, presumably, he left his native State to enter upon the civil service in Washington. He remained in the Government Printing Office for sixteen years, becoming, in 1878, president of the Columbia Typographical Union; but on the return of the Democratic party into power he was discharged on the ground of "offensive partisanship."

About this time his first volume, "Whispering Pines," appeared; and Edmund Clarence Stedman, the poet-critic, recognizing the merit of the collection, wrote the author on hearing of this dismissal, and invited him to come to New York. Through his influence Boner soon found employment in the metropolis. He served on the staff of the "Century Dictionary" and, later, with Stedman himself in preparing his "Library of American Literature." At one time he was Literary Editor of the *New York World*; afterwards he was engaged upon the "Standard Dictionary." On the completion of that work, its publishers engaged him as editor of their widely-known periodical, the *Literary Digest*.

He it was who introduced into that weekly the attractive department of contemporary verse, which is still so well kept up. Because of some immaterial differences between himself and the publishers, he rashly resigned this, the best position he had ever held, and his fortunes from that time declined.

Thrown now with failing health solely upon his literary efforts he found a precarious living. He was forced to appeal to his friends in Washington who, with the aid of his associates in the Authors' Club, of New York, which had honored him fittingly with membership, were successful in having him restored to his former position in Washington. But his strength was not equal to even the light duties provided for him there, and so he was compelled to give them up. The publication of a few of his poems in pamphlet form, and generously subscribed to by his immediate friends, yielded means for a few months' sojourn in North Carolina, and hither he turned, happy in coming

"Back to the Old North State,
Back to the place of his birth,
Back through the pines' collonaded gate
To the dearest spot on earth."

Partly restored, he returned to his desk in January, 1903; but it soon became apparent that the end was drawing swiftly on. He wrote to me about this time. "This is my last Christmas on earth—I know it." With a courage that was an inspiration he struggled on through suffering toward the inevitable, nor did his spirit quail in its presence. He died in Washington, March, 1903, and was buried in the Congressional Cemetery there, the solemn ceremonies being attended by a few of his friends and associates.

In his earlier songs the poet had sung:

"Full many a peaceful place I've seen,
But the most restful spot I know
Is one where thick, dark cedars grow
In an old graveyard cool and green."

He had in mind the old Moravian churchyard at Salem. In another of these poems are the following lines:

"Where'er it be my fate to die
Beneath those trees in whose dark shade
The first loved of my life are laid
I want to lie."

It was to carry out this wish that, mainly through the efforts of the poet's friend, Dr. Marcus Benjamin, the Boner Memorial Association was formed. Some of the leading literary people of America con-

tributed to this movement, among them may be mentioned Henry Abbey, H. M. Alden, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Andrew Carnegie, John Vance Cheney, I. K. Funk, R. W. Gilder, D. C. Gilman, Homer Greene, John Hay, Stephen H. Thayer, Henry Holt, Robert U. Johnson, Clinton Scollard, E. C. Stedman, and F. H. Stoddard. The necessary funds were promptly raised, and in December, 1904, the reinterment, with fitting ceremonies, was made in Salem, N. C. A simple marble slab, bearing an appropriate inscription, marks the grave.

Only members of the Moravian church are allowed burial in that cemetery, and no monument except a simple slab of prescribed size is permitted to be erected. The authorities, however, admitted Boner's remains "to burial in the graveyard here without special permit and without cost except for grave-digging and the usual plain headstone."

While Boner, I believe, conformed to no outward creed, he was at heart a Moravian. And while he made no display of his religion, I must think that

"After life's fitful fever he sleeps well."

His poems breathe a Christian spirit all through his life. These lines illustrate:

"God of our nobler fathers, I adore Thee!
Too late I live to dedicate my ways
To Thee divinely, and I can restore Thee
Only a starving soul, but that with praise
That I have set no other god before Thee,
And have despised the Moloch of my days."

When he was in Raleigh on his last visit, one of the ministers of the city called to see him one day; and when the visitor, after a pleasant interview, was preparing to leave, Boner asked him if he was going without a word of prayer. Together they knelt in the little room, and, led by the preacher, they drew near the Throne, we may confidently believe.

He was a man of most pleasing personality, slow to form friendships and slower to sunder them. He clung to his friends with increasing affection. There was not a place for envy in his great, lovable nature; he rejoiced in the triumphs of all; and if he offered criticism it was to inspire to higher achievement. What he wrote in one of his sonnets, "On a Portrait of Poe," may be said as truly of him:

"Thou gentleman, whose blue veins purely ran
Ancestral chastity and noble pride."

He was a critic of keen interpretation: his conclusions were independent, and were founded upon a clear esthetic discernment. He was

endowed by nature for criticism; and his training as proof reader, writer, and editor had equipped him for details. Had he essayed more in this field, his work would have ranked with that of Poe and Stedman.

He was a poet of rare fancy and intellectual force. It was in this realm that he achieved such high success, that he has been styled "North Carolina's first man of letters." The Old North State has brought forth very few verse-writers whose work, even at its best, deserves to be classed as poetry, and the work of these few was rarely at its best. Boner's, however, was almost invariably wrought with exceeding care, and is of such fine quality as to justify his classification in the company of American poets.

The volume of his writings is small, indeed, but in poetry it is not volume that counts toward immortality. Poe will live coextensively with Shakespeare and Dante, while the author of the voluminous "Columbiad"—who was he?

The range of Boner's themes and types, however, is great, and he attained to a perfection of which any poet might feel proud. He touched upon love, joy, faith, hope, death, despair, immortality, patriotism, etc.; and he wrote readily all kinds of verse from the negro's rousing camp-meeting songs to the gravest sonnets. Neither Harris nor Russell ever surpassed "Christmus Times Is Come,"—indeed, it is hardly too much to say this piece of dialect has not yet been equaled. It reveals more truly and clearly the negro's intimate association of the earthly and spiritual than any other single song, and is, therefore, more faithful to the race; for appetite, and emotion mistaken for religion make up the old-time negro. This light spirit is shown also in the "Christmas Toast," "A Boy in the Piney Woods," the latter reminiscent of "life bucolic,"

"I heard the peals of laughter long and hearty;
I caught the lusty tuning of the fiddle,
And leaped the door-step, eager for the frolic."

The same airy touches are seen in other poems; as, for instance, "Sparrows in the Snow," a veritable winter idyl, with its closing couplet:

"And soon the snow, all tracks and trails,
Was full of perk, sky-tilted tails."

With this winter piece may be mentioned "Midsummer Noon," a sleep-inducing melody, when

"Silence is intense
For opiate perfume's opulence
Has drowsed the blue-skied land."

But by far the great number, as well as the best, of these descriptive poems—and the same may be said of all Boner's writings—are cadenced in melancholy. "Moonrise in the Pines," "Broken and Desolate," these and many others are examples; and in some of them there seems to be the story of a lost love:

"Ah, fatal roses—never yet
Have they deceived. She drooped and died."

The song, "I Would That I could Quite Forget," with its memorable lines,

"Remembrance that in anguish saith
There is a sadder thing than death,"—

this, as well as others, bears out such an assumption.

Boner had an abiding love for his native State. Many of his earlier songs are expressive of this feeling, and one of the last he wrote, "The Wanderer Back Home," from which quotation has been made, burns with this same affection. At the height of his career, when he lighted his first fire in "Cricket Lodge," Staten Island, he did not proceed far in his poem celebrating the occasion before these lines crowded upon him for utterance:

"On a green and breezy hill
Overlooking Arthur Kill
And the Orange Mountains blue
In their ever-changing hue—
Here, not far from where the gull
Skims along the Kill von Kull,
Winging to the Upper Bay
Thence the ocean vast to roam,
Here for life's remaining day
I have builded me a home.

"Rather had I hewn my beam
By old Yadkin's gentle stream—
Rather there on wintry days
Felt the cheery lightwood's blaze."

Boner was an ardent admirer of Poe, and in one supreme poem has linked his own name indissolubly with the name of that wizard of melodies. "Poe's Cottage at Fordham," as haunting in phrase as is Swinburne's "Garden of Proserpine," marks, possibly, the height of his achievement; but judged by the loftiest standards of art, he has approached this poem, to say the least, in one or two of his sonnets: "Remembrance," informed, as it is, with pathos sharp as a two-edged sword; and "Time Brings Roses," rising to a faith that becomes prophetic—

these are the products of a cunning hand. All three of these poems will be given later in this discussion.

Richard Watson Gilder, the editor of the *Century Magazine*, pays this fitting tribute to his memory in that periodical for March, 1905:

"In life's hard fight this poet did his part:
He was a hero of the mind and heart.
Now rests his body 'neath his own loved skies,
And from his grave 'Courage' his spirit cries."

And Edmund Clarence Stedman wrote of him, in words graven upon his tomb, as "That gentlest of minstrels who caught his music from the whispering pines."

"Boner's Lyrics," published since the author's death by the Neale Publishing Company, New York, contains the work of which his mature judgment approved. He prepared this manuscript during his last visit to Raleigh, and honored me by requesting me to write an introduction for the volume. I gave him the result of my attempt and he placed it in its proper place with his own hands.

This book contains forty-three of the sixty-five pieces that composed his "Whispering Pines," together with forty-nine poems written since the appearance of that volume.

Comparing his later work with his earlier, one is struck by the growth of his power and the enlargement of his vision, and yet the difference is due to the process of nature. These poems are evoked by the grave concerns of manhood; those by the buoyant aspirations of youth.

Let me draw this contrast by setting two or three of his later pieces against two or three from "Whispering Pines," all of which have been referred to above.

REMEMBRANCE.

I think that we retain of our dead friends
And absent ones no general portraiture;
That perfect memory does not long endure,
But fades and fades until our own life ends.
Unconsciously, forgetfulness attends
That grief for which there is no other cure,
But leaves of each lost one some record sure,—
A look, an act, a tone,—something that lends
Relief and consolation, not regret.
Even that poor mother mourning her dead child,
Whose agonizing eyes with tears are wet,
Whose bleeding heart cannot be reconciled
Unto the grave's embrace,—even she shall yet
Remember only when her babe first smiled.

TIME BRINGS ROSES.

When from my mountain-top of years I gaze
Backward upon the scenes that I have passed,
How pleasant is the view! and yet how vast
The deserts where I thirsted many days!
There, where now hangs that blue and shimmering haze,
And there, and there, my lot with pain was cast,
Hopeless and dark; but always at the last
Deliverance came from unexpected ways.
And now all past grief is as but a dream:
Yet even now there loom before my path
Shadows whose gloomy portent checks my breath.
But shadows are not always what they seem—
God's love sometimes appears to be his wrath,
And his best gift is the white rose of death.

Permit me to introduce here those poignant lines entitled "The Wolf," and let us pause to reflect upon the irony of this belated tribute to his memory instead of the open hand and heart and the generous appreciation so richly his due when he was here and hungering for it.

THE WOLF.

The wolf came sniffing at my door,
But the wolf had prowled on my track before,
And his sniff, sniff, sniff at my lodge door-sill
Only made me laugh at his devilish will.

I stirred my fire and read my book,
And joyed my soul at my ingle-nook.
His sniff and his snarl were always there,
But my heart was not the heart of a hare.

I cursed the beast and drove him away,
But he came with the fall of night each day,
And his sniff, sniff, sniff the whole night through
I could hear between the winds that blew.

And the time came when I laughed no more,
But glanced with fear at my frail lodge-door,
For now I knew that the wolf at bay
Sooner or later would have his way.

The Fates were three, and I was one,
About my life a net was spun;
My soul grew faint in the deadly snare,
And the shrewd wolf knew my heart's despair.

A crash, and my door flew open wide.
My strength was not as the beast's at my side.
That night on my hearthstone cold and bare
He licked his paw and made his lair.

Now, let us compare with these poems of his mature years two of his songs from "Whispering Pines"; one representative of his inimitable dialect; the other, of his abiding love for his native State.

CHRISMUS TIMES IS COME.

Wen de sheppuds watch de sheep on de plain ob Beflehem

(Chrismus times is come)

Dey was 'stonished at de star dat went a-swinging ober dem,

(Chrismus times is come;)

Dey lean upon the sheppud crooks a-shading ob der eyes,

(Chrismus times is come,)

An' dey know the sun ob glory was a-gwine fur to rise,

(Chrismus times is come.)

De wise men walk wid der heads ben' low

Twell dey hear a ban' o' music like dey nebber hear befo',

An' de angels come a-singin' wid de stars in der han's

An' der flamin' wings a-shinin' on de heathun lan's.

De kings ob de earf woke up dat night,

(Chrismus times is come,)

An' der crowns look shabby in der halleluyer light,

(Christmas times is come,)

But de poo' man riz en took his ole hat down,

(Chrismus times is come,)

An' hit look so fine dat he fought it was a crown,

(Chrismus times is come.)

Ole Jordan roll high an' ole Jordan roll low,

An' de star stood still whar de folks had to go,

An' de angels flew away agin a-leavin' arter dem

A blaze road from Juda to de New Jerusalem.

Den pile on de light'ood an' set aroun' de fire,

(Chrismus times is come,)

Rosum up de ole bow an' chune de banjer higher,

(Chrismus times is come;)

Dere's no mo' coonin' ob de log in de night,

(Chrismus times is come,)

O glory to de lam' fur de halleluyer light,

(Chrismus times is come.)

De Chrismus possum am a-bakin' mighty snug,

So han' aroun' de tumbler an' de little yaller jug

Wid de co'ncob stopper, an' de honey in de bowl,

An' a-glory halleluyer an' a-bless your soul.

The following will appeal even more to every North Carolinian, and especially to those of us who were reared in the country.

THE LIGHT'OOD FIRE.

When wintry days are dark and drear
And all the forest ways grow still,
When grey snow-laden clouds appear
Along the bleak horizon hill,
When cattle all are snugly penned
And sheep go huddling close together,
When steady streams of smoke ascend
From farm-house chimneys—in such weather
Give me old Carolina's own,
A great log house, a great hearthstone,
A cheering pipe of cob or briar
And a red, leaping light'ood fire.

When dreary day draws to its close
And all the silent land is dark,
When Boreas down the chimney blows
And sparks fly from the crackling bark;
And limbs are bent with snow and sleet
And owls hoot from the hollow tree,
With hounds asleep about your feet,
Then is the time for reverie,
Give me old Carolina's own,
A hospitable wide hearthstone,
A cheering pipe of cob or briar
And a red, rousing light'ood fire.

The interval between these extremes is filled with all the gradations of song—idyl, ballad, ode, etc.—inspired by the varying degrees of emotion, all finished by an artistic hand, and all well worth a place in the affection of those who love the beautiful in imaginative, rythmical expression.

In conclusion let me read what he himself considered his best work, an estimate in which nearly all concur. Boner told me how he came to write this poem, and, as the circumstances under which any work of art is produced are always interesting, I will give them here.

Poe's cottage at Fordham was offered for sale, and Boner conceived the idea of forming an association for the purpose of purchasing and preserving that notable home. One day he and the poet Stedman visited the place, and as they were returning Boner suggested that his friend and companion write a poem on the subject. Stedman said, "No; you are the man to do it." That night, he said, the idea took such hold upon him that he could not sleep. Snatches of the lines rang through his mind, until he made a light and, propped up in bed, began the composition. Before day he finished the poem as we have it

now. He saw Stedman the next morning and read the lines to him. The distinguished critic was elated and said, in effect, "Do you know, Boner, that you have here a really great poem?" Stedman urged that the verses be sent to the *Century Magazine*, and himself spoke enthusiastically about them to Richard Watson Gilder, who was at that time and who continued up to his death the editor of that periodical. The poem was promptly accepted and appeared in that monthly. Here are the lines:

POE'S COTTAGE AT FORDHAM.

Here lived the soul enchanted
 By melody of song;
 Here dwelt the spirit haunted
 By a demoniac throng;
 Here sang the lips elated;
 Here grief and death were sated;
 Here loved and here unmated
 Was he, so frail, so strong.

Here wintry winds and cheerless
 The dying firelight blew
 While he whose song was peerless
 Dreamed the drear midnight through,
 And from dull embers chilling
 Crept shadows darkly filling
 The silent place, and thrilling
 His fancies as they grew.

Here, with brow bared to heaven,
 In starry night he stood,
 With the lost star of even
 Feeling sad brotherhood.
 Here in the sobbing showers
 Of dark autumnal hours
 He heard suspected powers
 Shriek through the stormy wood.

From visions of Apollo
 And of Astarte's bliss,
 He gazed into the hollow
 And hopeless vale of Dis;
 And though earth were surrounded
 By heaven, it still was mounded
 With graves: his soul had sounded
 The dolorous abyss.

Proud, mad, but not defiant,
He touched at heaven and hell;
Fate found a rare soul pliant
And rung her changes well.
Alternately his lyre,
Stranded with strings of fire,
Led earth's most happy choir
Or flashed with Israfel.

No singer of old story,
Luting accustomed lays;
No harper for new glory;
No mendicant for praise,—
He struck high chords and splendid,
Wherein were fiercely blended
Tones that unfinished ended
With his unfinished days.

Here through this lowly portal,
Made sacred by his name,
Unheralded immortal
The mortal went and came.
And fate that then denied him,
And envy that decried him,
And malice that belied him,
Have cenotaphed his fame.

And so, whatever, in the accidents of time, may become of its material structure, Poe's Cottage at Fordham, through the magic of Boner's lines, can never fall into decay. Let it be consumed by the flames, and its ashes blown to the four winds; and let buildings of granite rise upon the site where it stood; when these have crumbled it will then stand upon foundations that cannot be moved, just so sure as "things that are seen are temporal, and things that are not seen are eternal."

North Carolina Bibliography, 1913

BY MISS MINNIE W. LEATHERMAN, SECRETARY OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA LIBRARY COMMISSION.

There are certain difficulties confronting the compiler of a bibliography of this character. Do you remember the fable of the man who courted two women at the same time? One was young, and the other was somewhat advanced in years. The man's hair was turning gray. Now the elder woman, ashamed to be courted by a man younger than herself, made a point, whenever he visited her, to pull out some of the black hairs. The younger, on the contrary, not wishing to marry an old man, was just as zealous in removing the gray hairs. And so between the two the poor man soon found he hadn't a hair left on his head.

Well, there are some who say that this bibliography should not include books by men and women who, although natives of North Carolina, no longer live in the State. There are others who insist that the works of writers who were not born in the State should not be included, even though they are now living in North Carolina. If both of these classes were excluded, the bibliography would be in very much the same condition as the head of the man with the two sweethearts.

And so I have used the term bibliography in its broadest sense, and have attempted to include the works of all native North Carolinians, whether they are now living in the State or elsewhere; and also the work of writers, who, although not born in North Carolina, have lived here long enough to become identified with the State.

The bibliography is arranged under the following heads:

1. New publications
2. Editions
3. Revisions
4. Continuations and periodical publications

I. NEW PUBLICATIONS

Abbreviations and Symbols: c., copyright; il., illustrated; p., pages; por., portrait; subs., subscription; v., volume. The capital letters, D, O, Q, S, T, refer to the size of the books.

BASSETT, John Spencer. Short history of the United States. O. 900 p. maps. N. Y., Macmillan, 1913. \$2.50 net.

BATTLE, Kemp Plummer. History of the University of North Carolina, v. 2, Q. 874 p. il. por. Chapel Hill, K. P. Battle, 1912. \$3.00 net.

BOYD, William K., and HAMILTON, J. G. de Rouilhac. Syllabus of North Carolina history, 1584-1876. O. 101 p. Durham, Seeman Printery, 1913. 75c.

DIXON, Thomas. *The Southerner; a romance of the real Lincoln.* D. 543, p., il. N. Y., Appleton, 1913. \$1.35 net.

HAYWOOD, Marshall DeLancey. *Sir Walter Raleigh; an address originally delivered under the auspices of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, republished by General Julian S. Carr.* O. 52, p. Raleigh, Edwards & Broughton, 1913. Paper, gratis.

HECK, Fannie E. *In royal service.* Richmond, Baptist Foreign Mission Board, 1913. 50c.

HENDERSON, Archibald. *European dramatists.* D. il. Cincinnati, Stewart & Kidd, 1913. \$1.50 net.

MOREHEAD, John Motley, architect and builder of public works; exercises in connection with presentation to the State by the North Carolina Historical Commission of a bust of Gov. Morehead, Dec. 4, 1912. O. 26 p., il.

KEPHART, Horace. *Our Southern highlanders.* il. N. Y., Outing Publishing Co., 1913. \$2.50 net.

Mr. Kephart was born in Pennsylvania but is now living in Bryson City, N. C.

KNIGHT, Edgar Wallace. *Influence of reconstruction on education in the South.* 100 p. N. Y., Columbia University, 1913. (Columbia University, Teachers' College. Contributions to education, No. 60.)

LEON, Louis. *Diary of a tar heel Confederate soldier.* D. por. 87 p. Charlotte, Stone Publishing Co., 1913. \$1.00.

LYLE, Samuel Harley. *Brain-shapes.* D. 31 p. por. Macon, Randall Printing Co., 1913.

MORLEY, Margaret Warner. *The Carolina mountains.* O. 407 p., il. Boston, Houghton, 1913. \$3.00 net.

Miss Morley is a native of the middle West but has been living in Tryon, N. C., for several years.

NORTH CAROLINA GEOLOGICAL SURVEY. *Some facts and figures about North Carolina and her natural resources.* Q. 54 p. Geological Survey, 1913. Gratis.

PELL, George Pierce. *Pell's forms of pleading and practice for North Carolina.* Q. 926 p. Cincinnati, Anderson, 1912.

REYNOLDS, Robert Rice. *Wanderlust.* D. 98 p., il. N. Y., Broadway Publishing Co., 1913. \$1.00 net.

SMITH, Charles Alphonso. *What can literature do for me?* D. 228 p. N. Y., Doubleday, 1913. \$1.00 net.

SPENCE, Hersey Everett. *Reveries in rhyme.* D. 120 p. Durham Book & Stationery Co., 1913.

VERMONT, Adolph. *Esther Wake; or, the Spirit of the Regulators; a play in four acts.* O. 74 p. Raleigh, Edwards & Broughton, 1913. 75c.

WEEKS, Stephen Beauregard. *Select bibliography of North Carolina for schools, libraries and amateurs.* S. 23 p. Raleigh, North Carolina Library Commission, 1913. Paper, gratis.

WOOD, Edward Jenner. *Treatise on pellagra for the general practitioner.* O. 391 p., il. N. Y., Appleton, 1912. Subs. \$4.00.

II. EDITIONS

Craven, Bruce. Title guaranty law of North Carolina with introduction and notes. D. 108 p. Charlotte, Observer Printing House, 1913. \$1.00.

Smith, Charles Alphonso. Pericles, prince of Tyre. T. 177 p. N. Y., Macmillan, 1913. 25c, 35c, 55c. (Tudor Shakespeare.)

III. REVISIONS

Amis, Moses N. Historical Raleigh (enlarged and revised edition) with Sketches of Wake county and its important towns. D. 289 p., il. por. Raleigh, Commercial Printing Co., 1913. \$1.50; paper, 50c.

Foote, William Henry. Sketches of North Carolina.

IV. CONTINUATIONS AND PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

JAMES SPEUNT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS, published under the direction of the North Carolina Historical Society, edited by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton and Henry M. Wagstaff. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina. 50c. each.

v. 11, No. 1. Guess, W. C. County government in colonial North Carolina. 62 p. 1912.

v. 11, No. 2. Nash, Frank. North Carolina constitution of 1776 and its makers; Nixon, J. R. German settlers of Lincoln county and western North Carolina. 60 p. 1912.

v. 12, No. 1. Cooke, C. S. The governor, council and assembly in royal North Carolina; Morgan, L. N. Land tenure in proprietary North Carolina. 63 p. 1912.

v. 12, No. 2. Rand, J. H. The North Carolina Indians. 41 p. 1913.

JOHN LAWSON MONOGRAPHS, edited by Trinity College Historical Society.

v. 3. Boggs, William R. Military Reminiscences—introduction and notes by W. K. Boyd. D. 138 p., por. Durham, Seeman Printery, 1913. \$1.00.

TRINITY COLLEGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Historical papers, series 9. 95 p. O. Durham, 1912.

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The *South Atlantic Quarterly*, *North Carolina Education*, *North Carolina Library Bulletin*, and the publications of the various colleges and universities have been issued regularly during the year.

The first number of a new magazine, *Skyland*, *Stories of Picturesque North Carolina*, appeared in June. It is edited by Miss Mae Lucile Smith, of Hendersonville, and published in Charlotte. The subscription price is \$1.00 per year.

Rochambeau and the French in America: Why They Came and What They Did

AN ADDRESS BY THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR, RALEIGH, NOVEMBER 21, 1913.

The American war had been for five years in progress; for two years a treaty of alliance, having as sole object "to maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, of the United States," bound us French to the "insurgents"; successes and reverses followed each other in turn: Brooklyn, Trenton, Brandywine, Saratoga. Quite recently the news had come of the double victory at sea and on land of d'Estaing at Grenada, and Paris had been illuminated. The lights were scarcely out when news arrived of the disaster of the same d'Estaing at Savannah. All France felt anxious concerning the issue of a war which had lasted so long and whose end continued to be doubtful.

When, in the first months of 1780, the report went about that a great definitive effort was to be attempted, that it was not this time a question of sending ships to the Americans, but of sending an army, and that the termination of the great drama was near, the enthusiasm was immense. All wanted to take part. There was a prospect of crossing the seas, of succoring a people fighting for a sacred cause, a people of whom all our volunteers praised the virtues; the people led by Washington, and represented in Paris by Franklin. An ardor as of crusaders inflamed the hearts of French youths, and the intended expedition was in fact the most important that France had launched beyond the seas since the distant times of the crusades. The cause was a truly sacred one, the cause of liberty, a magical word which then stirred the hearts of the many. "Why is liberty so rare?" Voltaire was wont to say; "because the most valuable of possessions."

All those who were so lucky as to be allowed to take part in the expedition, were convinced that they would witness memorable, perhaps unique events, and it turned out, indeed, that they were to participate in a campaign which, with that of Hastings, where the fate of England was decided in 1066, that of Bouvines, which made of France in 1214 a great nation, was to be one of the three military actions with widest consequences, in which the French ever took part.

A striking result of this state of mind is that an extraordinary number of those who went noted down their impressions, kept journals, drew sketches. Never perhaps during a military campaign, was so much writing done, nor were so many albums filled with drawings.

Notes, letters, journals, sketches, have come down to us in large numbers, and from all manner of hands: some from chiefs of the army or of the staff like Rochambeau or Chastellux, from a confirmed rake but excellent soldier like Lauzun, from an army chaplain like Abbé Robin, or a quarter-master like Blanchard, and innumerable others.

Many such papers have been published, others have not; so that even after so much has been written on those events, it still remains possible, with the help of new guides and new documents, added to those already known, to follow Washington and Rochambeau once more and in a different company, during the momentous journey which led them from the Hudson to the York River. The Rochambeau papers, used only in part, are preserved in the Library of Congress and they include, among other treasures, a number of letters of George Washington, some with the superscription still preserved: "On public service—To His Excellency, Count de Rochambeau, Williamsburg, Virginia," the whole text, often, in the great chief's characteristic handwriting, clear and steady, neither slow nor hasty, with nothing blurred and nothing omitted, with no trepidation, no abbreviation, the writing of a man with a clear conscience and clear views, superior to fortune, and the convinced partisan, in every circumstance throughout life, of the straight line.

The unprinted journal of one of Rochambeau's aides is equally accessible, and adds to dignified official documents many human touches and a welcome complement of picturesqueness and gaiety, the author being Louis Baron de Closen, a young captain of the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment, a lovable man as it seems, an excellent observer and a warm, kindly heart, who took seriously all that pertained to duty and merrily all the rest, especially mishaps.

The British Government has, moreover, most liberally thrown open its archives, so that we can follow today, better than ever before, the plans, preparations and trains of thought of the officers and men within New York and without, in the redoubts at Yorktown and in the French and American trenches around the place.

I.

Lieutenant General Jean-Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau, aged then fifty-five and Washington's senior by seven years, was in his house in Paris at the beginning of March, 1780, with post horses ready to take him to Rochambeau, his fine castle in Vendomois, still in existence; he was ill and needed rest, when in the midst of the night a messenger arrived from Versailles asking him to go there

at once to receive instructions. The instructions were that, on the pressing demand of the American commander, a small army of selected troops was to be sent to the States and that he was to be at the head of it.

A most difficult, if not quite unprecedented mission this was, implying a crossing of the ocean in spite of the English fleets, fighting in a country practically unknown, in conjunction with men of whom even less was known and whom we had been accustomed to fight rather than befriend, and for a cause which had never before elicited enthusiasm at Versailles, the cause of republican liberty.

This last point was the strangest of all, so much so that even Indian friends of the French in former days asked Rochambeau, when they saw him in America, how it was that his king could think fit to help other people against "their own father," their king. Rochambeau replied that the latter had been too hard on his subjects, that they were right, therefore, in shaking off the yoke, and we in helping them to secure "that natural liberty which God has conferred on man."

In this answer to "*Messieurs les Sauvages*," an indication is to be found of that which surmounted all obstacles and caused the French nation to stand as a whole, from beginning to end, in favor of the Americans, to applaud a treaty of alliance which, while entailing the gravest risks, forbade us all conquest, and to rejoice enthusiastically at a peace which after a victorious war added nothing to our possessions.

Hatred of England, quickened though it had been by the harsh conditions of the treaty of Paris bereaving us of Canada, in 1763, had much less to do with it than is sometimes alleged. Such a feeling existed, it is true, in the hearts of some of the leaders, but not of all, and as for the masses, what predominated in their minds, irrespective of any other consideration, was sympathy for men who wanted to fight injustice, and to be free. The cause of the insurgents was popular because it was associated with the notion of liberty; people did not look beyond. It is often forgotten that this time was not in France a period of Anglophobia, but of Anglomania. Necker, so influential, and who then held the purse strings, was an Anglophile; so was Prince de Montbarey, the Minister of War; so was Duke de Lauzun, who put an end for a time to his love affairs and came to America at the head of his famous legion. All that was English was admired, and, when possible, imitated: manners, philosophy, sports, clothes, parliamentary institutions, Shakespeare, just translated by Le Tourneur, with the King and Queen as patrons of the undertaking; but, above all, wrote Count de Ségur, one of Rochambeau's officers, and a future member of the

French Academy, "we were all dreaming of the liberty, at once calm and lofty, enjoyed by the entire body of citizens of Great Britain."

Such is the ever-recurring word. Liberty, philanthropy, natural rights, these were the magic syllables to conjure with. "All France," read we in Grimm and Diderot's correspondence, "was filled with an unbounded love for humanity" and felt a passion for "those exaggerated general maxims which raise the enthusiasm of young men and which would cause them to run to the world's end to help a Laplander or a Hottentot." The ideas of Montesquieu, Voltaire, d'Alembert were in the ascendant, and liberal thinkers saw in the Americans propagandists for their doctrine. General Howe having occupied New York in 1776, Voltaire wrote to d'Alembert: "The troops of Dr. Franklin have been beaten by those of the King of England. Alas! philosophers are being beaten everywhere. Reason and liberty are unwelcome in this world."

An immense aspiration was growing in France for more equality, fewer privileges, simpler lives among the great, less hard ones among the lowly, more accessible knowledge, the free discussion by all of the common interests of all. French masses were becoming more and more thinking masses. One should not forget that, between the end of the American Revolution and the beginning of the French one, only six years elapsed; between the American and the French Constitutions, but four years. At the very time of the Yorktown campaign, Necker was issuing his celebrated *Compte Rendu*, which he addressed, not to the King, but to the Nation; Count Guibert had some time before printed his *Essay on Tactics*, so full of advanced ideas that it had been suppressed by the authorities, and he had dedicated it not to a man, but to his mother country: "A ma Patrie." Six years after the end of the American war, on January 24, 1789, the King of France ordered the drawing up of the famous *Cahiers*, desiring, he said, that "from the extremities of his kingdom and the most unknown habitations, everyone should be assured of a means of conveying to him his wishes and complaints." And the *Cahiers*, requesting liberties very similar to those of the Americans, came indeed from the remotest parts of France, the work of everybody, of quasi-peasants sometimes, who would offer excuses for their wild orthography and grammar. The notes and letters of the volunteers of our Revolution, sons of peasants or artisans, surprise us by the mass of general ideas and views which abound in them. It was not, therefore, a statement of small import that Franklin had conveyed to Congress when he wrote from France: "The united bent of the nation is manifestly in our favour." And he deplored else-

where that some could think that an appeal to France's own interest was good policy: "Telling them their commerce will be advantaged by our success and that it is their *interest* to help us, seems as much as to say, 'Help us and we shall not be obliged to you.' Such indiscreet and improper language has been sometimes held here by some of our people and produced no good effect." The truth is, he said also, that "this nation is fond of glory, particularly that of protecting the oppressed."

Another striking trait in the numerous French accounts which have come down to us of this campaign against the English, is the small space that the English, as a nation, occupy in them. The note that predominates is enthusiasm for the Americans, not hatred for their enemies. "In France," wrote Ségur, "in spite of the habit of a long obedience to arbitrary power, the cause of the American insurgents fixed the attention and excited the interest of all. From every side public opinion was pressing the Royal Government to declare itself in favor of republican liberty and seemed to reproach it for its slowness and timidity." Of any revenge to be taken on the enemy, not a word. "No one among us," he said further, "thought of a revolution in France, but it was rapidly taking place in our minds. Montesquieu had brought to light again the long-buried title-deeds consecrating the rights of the people. Mature men were studying and envying the laws of England."

Summing up the motives of the new crusaders, who were "starting off to the war in the name of philanthropy," he found two: "One quite reasonable and conscientious, the desire to well serve King and country * * * another more unique, a veritable enthusiasm for the cause of American liberty." Ministers hesitated, on account of the immensity of the risk, "but they were, little by little, carried away by the torrent." During the sea voyage only the chiefs knew exactly whither they were going; some officers thought at one time they might have to fight elsewhere than in America. One of Rochambeau's officers, Mathieu Dumas, future minister of war of a future king of Naples called Joseph Bonaparte, confided his misgivings to his journal: "Above all," he wrote, "I had heartily espoused the cause of the independence of the Americans, and I should have felt extreme regret at losing the honor of combating for their liberty." Of the English, again, not a word; what he longed for, like so many others, was less to fight against the English than for the Americans.

Aware of the importance and difficulty of the move it had decided upon, the French Government had looked for a trained soldier, a man of

decision and of sense, one who would understand Washington and be understood by him, and thought it could do no better than to select Rochambeau. It could indeed do no better.

The future Marshal of France had been first destined to priesthood for no other reason than that he was a second son, and he was about to receive the tonsure when his elder brother died, and Bishop de Crussol, who had been supervising Donatien's ecclesiastical studies, came one day to him and said: "You must forget all I have told you up to now; you have become the eldest of your family and you must now serve your country with as much zeal as you would have served God in the ecclesiastical state."

Rochambeau did so. He was appointed an officer and served on his first campaign in Germany at sixteen, fought under Marshal de Saxe, was a colonel at 22 (Washington was to become one also at 22), received at Laufeldt his two first wounds, of which he nearly died. At the head of the famous Auvergne regiment, "Auvergne sans tache" (Auvergne the spotless), as it was called, he took part in the chief battles of the Seven Years War, notably in the victory of Clostercamp where spotless Auvergne had 58 officers and 800 soldiers killed or wounded, the battle made memorable by the episode of the Chevalier d'Assas, who went to his heroic death in the fulfilment of an order given by Rochambeau. The latter was again severely wounded, but leaning on two soldiers he could remain at his post till the day was won. On the opposite side of the same battlefield, were fighting many destined, like Rochambeau himself, to take part in the American war; it was like a preliminary rehearsal of the drama that was to be. At the second battle of Minden, in 1759, where the father of La Fayette was killed, Rochambeau covered the retreat, while in the English ranks Lord Cornwallis was learning his trade, as was too, but less brilliantly, Lord George Germain, the future Colonial Secretary of the Yorktown period. At Johannisberg, in the same war, Clinton, future commander-in-chief at New York, was wounded, while here and there in the French army, such officers distinguished themselves as Bougainville, back from Ticonderoga, and not yet a sailor, Chastellux, already a colonel, not yet an academician, and my predecessor La Luzerne, not yet a diplomat, who was to be the second minister ever accredited to America where his name is not forgotten.

When still very young, Rochambeau had contracted one of those marriages so numerous in the eighteenth, as in every other century, of which nothing is said in the memoirs and letters of the period, because they were what they should be, happy ones. Every right-minded and

right-hearted man will find less pleasure in the wittiest anecdote told by Lauzun, one of Rochambeau's seconds in America, than in the simple and brief lines written in his old age by the latter: "My good star gave me such a wife as I could desire; she has been for me a cause of constant happiness throughout life, and I hope, on my side, to have made her happy by the tenderest amity, which has never varied an instant during nearly sixty years." The issue of that union, Viscount Rochambeau, from his youth the companion in arms of his father, an officer at fourteen, accompanied him to the States and was, after a career of devotion to his country, to die a general at Leipzig in the "Battle of Nations."

II.

Informed at Versailles of the task he would have to perform, the exact nature of which was kept a secret from the troops themselves now gathered at Brest, Rochambeau set to work at once to get everything in readiness, gathering information, talking with those who knew America and noting down in his register the chief points of their conversations. He also addressed to himself, as a reminder, a number of useful recommendations such as these: "To take with us a quantity of flints, * * * much flour and biscuit; have bricks as ballast for the ships, to be used for ovens; to try to bring with us all we want and not to have to ask from the Americans who are themselves in want * * * to have a copy of the Atlas brought from Philadelphia by Mr. de La Fayette * * * to have a portable printing press, like that of Mr. d'Estaing, handy for proclamations * * * siege artillery is indispensable." Some of the notes are of grave import and were not lost sight of throughout the campaign: "Nothing without naval supremacy."

To those intrusted with the care of loading the vessels he recommends that all articles of the same kind be not placed on the same ship, "so that in case of mishap to any ship the whole supply of any kind of provisions be not totally lost."

As to the pay for himself and his officers, he writes to the minister that he leaves that to him: "Neither I nor mine desire anything extravagant; we should like to be able to go to this war at our own expense." But the Government did not want him to be hampered by any lack of funds and allotted him the then considerable sum of 12,000 francs a month, and 4,000 a month to the generals under him.

At Brest, where he now repaired, Rochambeau found that the ships were not so numerous as expected, so that only the first division of his army could embark under command of Chevalier de Ternay. Many

men and officers had to be left behind, as well as all the horses. "I have," Rochambeau writes to Prince de Montbarey, the minister of war, "to part company with two battle horses that I can never replace. I do so with the greatest sorrow, but I do not want to have to reproach myself with their having taken up the room of twenty men who could have embarked in their stead." All go on board at last, "without any overcrowding of the troops; the rule for long journeys having been observed, namely one soldier for every two tons' burden."

When all were there, however, forming a total of 5,000 men, the maximum was so truly reached that a number of young men, some belonging to the best known French families, who were arriving from day to day, in the hope of being added to the expedition, had to be sent back. The fleet was already on the high seas when a cutter brought the government's last instructions to Rochambeau. On the boat were two brothers called Berthier: "They have joined us," the General writes to the Minister, "dressed in linen vests and breeches, asking to be admitted as mere sailors. But there was really no place to put them. Those poor young men are interesting and in despair." They had nevertheless, to be sent back, but managed to join the army later, and so it was that Alexander Berthier began in the Yorktown campaign a military career which he was to end as Marshal of France and Prince of Wagram and Neufchatel.

The departure which it was necessary to hasten while the English were not yet ready, was beset with difficulties. Tempests, contrary winds and various mishaps had caused untoward delay, the *Comtesse de Noailles* and the *Conquérant* had come into collision and had had to be repaired. "Luckily," wrote Rochambeau to Montbarey, with his usual good humor, "it rains also on Portsmouth." At last, on the second of May, 1780, the fleet of seven ships of the line and two frigates conveying thirty-six transports, weighed anchor for good: "We shall have the start of Graves," the General wrote again, "for he will have to use the same wind to leave Portsmouth," and he added, with a touch of emotion at this solemn moment: "I recommend this expedition to the friendship of my dear old comrade and to his zeal for the good of the State."

At sea now for a long voyage, two or three months perhaps, with the prospect of calms, of storms, of untoward encounters, of scurvy for the troops. On board the big *Duc de Bourgogne* of eighty guns, with Admiral de Ternay, Rochambeau adds now and then paragraphs to a long report which is a kind of journal, assuring the Minister, after the first fortnight, that all is well on board: "We have no men sick other

than those which the sea makes so, among whom the Marquis de Laval and my son play the most conspicuous part." He prepares his general instructions to the troops.

On board the smaller craft life was harder and numerous unflattering descriptions have come down to us in the journals kept by so many officers of the army, especially in that of the afore-mentioned young captain, Louis Baron de Closen, later one of the aides of Rochambeau.

He confesses, but with no undue insistence, that he was saddened at first to some extent at the prospect of an absence that might be a long one, particularly when thinking "of a charming young fiancée, full of wit and grace. * * * My profession, however, does not allow me to yield too much to sensibility; so I am now perfectly resigned." He was assigned to the *Comtesse de Noailles*, of 300 tons (the *Ecureuil*, that kept her company, was of only 180). Each officer had received 50 francs for extra purchases; they found it was little, but when they had made their purchases they found that it had been much, so great was the difficulty in stowing their possessions on the ship.

Owing to the crew being partly Bretons and partly Provençals, they understood with difficulty orders given them in French; hence the collision with the *Conquérant*, luckily repaired in twenty-four hours, with the exception of the "charming countess" adorning the prow of the ship; her head had been carried away and could not be replaced; so she continued with no head, "like so many other countesses," observes our captain.

Everyday life now begins on board the ship; there is scarcely breathing space, and what people breathe is made unpleasant by all sorts of "exhalations" from the ship, the thick packed masses of humanity on board and "a few dogs." There is very little space to eat or sleep. But Closen soon gets accustomed, he stands the sea very well, room or no room, he eats and sleeps abundantly and now begins to study life "on board those *sabots* so detested by anyone who is not a sailor." He learns how to make nautical observations, examines his companions, and notes that the captain seems to have strange religious ideas, usually ending the day by the singing of a hymn to the Blessed Virgin, which he interrupts to swear at his sailors in most unchristian fashion.

Various incidents break the monotony of the journey. On the 18th of June the *Surveillante* captures an English corsair, which is a joy, but they learn from it the fall of Charleston and the surrender of Lincoln, which is no joy. Their sailing being not very rapid they take to fishing and capture flying fishes which are "delicious, fried in butter like gudgeons." An occasion offers to fight six English men of

war; Ternay exchanges with them a few shots, and very wisely leaves them alone, heading for Newport in accordance with his instructions which ordered him to convoy safely Rochambeau's army and think of nothing else. All the young officers were, of course, loud in their denunciations of such a conscientious admiral.

The event, however, fully justified Ternay, for Graves, whose mission it had been to intercept him and his slow and heavy convoy, missed his opportunity by twenty-four hours only, reaching New York, where he joined forces with Arbuthnot, just as our own ships were safe at Newport. The slightest delay on Ternay's part might have been fatal.

The more so since, when nearing the coast our fleet had fallen into fogs: "Nothing so sad and dangerous at sea as fogs," Closen sententiously writes; "besides the difficulty of avoiding collisions in so numerous a fleet, each vessel, in order to avoid them, tries to gain space, thus one may chance to get too far from the center. The standing orders are had, in view of avoiding those inconveniences, were to beat the drums every quarter of an hour or fire petards. The men of war fired their guns or sent rockets. The speed limit was three knots during the fog." In spite of all which the *Ile de France* was lost and there was great anxiety, but she appeared again later quite safe, at Boston.

The landing orders of Rochambeau, making known now to all concerned the intentions of the Government, were clear and peremptory:

"The troops which His Majesty is sending to America are auxiliary to those of the United States, his allies, and placed under the orders of General Washington, to whom the honors of a Marshal of France will be rendered. The same with the President of Congress. * * * In case of an equality of rank and duration of service, the American officer will take command. * * * The troops of the King will yield the right side to the allies; French troops will add black to their cockades, black being the color of the United States," and some such hats, with black and white cockades, are still preserved at Fraunces' tavern, New York. "The intention of His Majesty," the General continues, "is that there be perfect concert and harmony between the Generals and officers of the two nations. The severest discipline will be observed. * * * It is forbidden to take a bit of wood, a sheaf of straw, any kind of vegetables, except amicably and in paying."

The army, but not the fleet, was placed under the supreme command of Washington, who was considered to outrank any of the French officers. Ternay's instructions specified, however, that although he was not under the direct orders of Washington, he must not fail to under-

stand that it would be his duty "to proffer all assistance that might facilitate the operations of the United States."

III.

On the 11th day of July the fleet reached Newport, after seventy days at sea, which was longer than Columbus had taken on his first voyage, but which was nothing extraordinary. Abbé Robin, a chaplain of the army, arrived later, after a journey of eighty-five days, none the less filled with admiration for those "enormous machines with which men master the waves"—a very minute enormity from our modern point of view. "There were among the land troops," says Closen, "endless shouts of joy" at the prospect of being on terra firma again. Scurvy had afflicted them as usual; six or seven hundred soldiers and one thousand sailors were suffering from it; some had died.

They were now confronted by the unknown. What would that unknown be? Rochambeau had only his first division with him; would he be attacked at once by the English who disposed of superior naval and land forces about New York? And what would be the attitude of the Americans themselves? Everybody was for them in France, but few people had a real knowledge of them. La Fayette had, but he was young and enthusiastic. Would the inhabitants, would their leader Washington, would their army answer his description? The game was moreover a difficult one, and had to be played on an immense chess-board, including North and South, Boston, New York, Charleston, and the Chesapeake, including even "the isles," that is, the West Indies; and what took place there, which might have so much importance for continental operations, had constantly to be guessed or imagined, for lack of news. The reputation of the French was, up to then in America, such as hostile English books and caricatures had made it. "It is difficult to imagine," wrote Abbé Robin, "the idea Americans entertained about the French before the war. They considered them as a kind of light, brittle, queer-shapen mechanisms, only busy frizzling their hair and painting their faces, without faith or morals." How would thousands of such mechanisms be received?

With his usual clear-headedness, Rochambeau did at once the necessary thing on each point. To begin with, in case of an English attack, which was at first expected every day, "he had," wrote one of his companions, Mathieu Dumas, "batteries of heavy artillery and mortars erected along the channel with furnaces to heat the balls." During "the first six days," says Closen, "we were not quite at our ease, but Messieurs

les Anglais showed us great consideration and we suffered from nothing worse than grave anxieties." After the second week, Rochambeau could write home that if Clinton appeared he would be well received. Shortly after, he feels sorry the visit is delayed; later, when his own second division, so ardently desired, did not appear, he writes to the war minister: "In two words, sir Henry Clinton and I are very punctilious and the question is between us who will first call on the other. If we do not get up earlier in the morning than the English and the reinforcements they expect from Europe reach them before our second division arrive, they will pay us a visit that I should prefer to pay them in New York."

Concerning the reputation of the French, Rochambeau and his officers were in perfect accord: it would change if an exemplary discipline were maintained throughout the campaign. There is nothing the chief paid more attention to than this, nor with more complete success. Writing to Prince de Montbarey a month after the landing, Rochambeau says: "I can answer for the discipline of the army; not a man has left his camp, not a cabbage has been stolen, not a complaint has been heard." To the President of Congress he had written a few days before: "I hope that account will have been rendered to Your Excellency of the discipline observed by the French troops; there has not been one complaint; not a man has missed a roll call. We are your brothers and we shall act as such with you; we shall fight your enemies by your side as if we were one and the same nation." Mentioning in his memoirs the visit of certain "savages" who had been formerly under French rule and persisted in remaining friendly to us, he adds: "The sight of guns, troops and military exercises caused them no surprise; but they were greatly astonished to see apple trees with their apples upon them overhanging the soldiers' tents." "This result," he concludes, "was due not only to the zeal of officers, but more than anything else to the good disposition of the soldiers, which never failed."

With the French officers in the West Indies, most of them former companions in arms and personal friends, Rochambeau, as soon as he had landed, began to correspond. The letters thus exchanged, generally unpublished, give a vivid picture of the life led then in the isles. Cut off from the world, most of the time, not knowing what was taking place in France, in America, on the sea, or even sometimes on the neighboring island, unaware of the whereabouts of Rodney, having to guess which place he might try to storm and which they should therefore garrison, these men, suffering from fevers, having now and then their ships scattered by cyclones, played to their credit and with

perfect good humor, their difficult game of hide and seek. They send their letters in duplicate and triplicate, by chance boats, give news of the French court when they have any, and learn after a year's delay that their letters of October, 1780, have been duly received by Rochambeau in June, 1781. The Marquis de Bouillé, who was to cover himself with glory at Brimstone Hill and is now chiefly remembered for the part he played in Louis XVIth's flight to Varennes, writes most affectionately and does not forget to convey the compliments of his brave wife who had accompanied him to Martinique; Marquis de Saint-Simon, so famous since as the founder of the Saint-Simonian sect and the first philosophical master of Auguste Comte, writes from San Domingo to say how much he would like to go and fight under Rochambeau on the continent: "I would be delighted to be under your orders and to give up for that the command in chief I enjoy here." And he supplies him, in the same unpublished letter, with a most interesting account of Cuba, just visited by him: "This colony has an air of importance far superior to any of ours, inhabited as it is by all the owners of the land, so that the city (Havana) looks rather a European than a colonial one; society is numerous and seems opulent. If Spain would extend and facilitate the trade of Cuba the island would become exceedingly rich in little time. But prohibitory laws are so harsh and penalties so rigorous that they cramp industry everywhere."

A postscript in the same letter shows better than anything else what was the common feeling among officers towards Rochambeau: "Montbrun," writes St.-Simon, "who has been suffering from the fever for a long time, asks me to assure you of his respectful attachment, and says that he has written you twice, that your silence afflicts him very much and that a token of friendship and remembrance from you would be for him the best of febrifuges. All your former subordinates of Auvergne think the same and have the same attachment for you, in which respect I yield to none."

The staunch devotion of Rochambeau to his duties as a soldier, his personal disinterestedness, his cool-headedness and energy as a leader, his good humor in the midst of troubles had secured for him the devotion of many, while his brusquery, his peremptoriness, the severity which veiled his real warmth of heart whenever the service was at stake, won him a goodly number of enemies, the latter very generally of less worth as men than the former. In the affectionate letter by which he made up early differences with "his son La Fayette," shortly after his arrival, he observes, concerning his own military career: "If I have been lucky enough to preserve, up to now, the confidence of French

soldiers, I may in conscience declare that I owe it to the fact that out of some fifteen thousand men killed or wounded under my orders * * * not one died in view of my own fame." "He seemed," Ségur said in his Memoirs, "to have been purposely created to understand Washington and be understood by him and to serve with republicans. A friend of order, of laws and of liberty, his example more even than his authority obliged us scrupulously to respect the rights, properties and customs of our allies."

As for Washington, the moment they began exchanging letters, and especially after they became personally acquainted at the Hartford conferences in September, when they tried to draw a first plan for a combined action, a friendship began between the two that was long to survive those eventful years. "From the time we began to correspond directly with one another," Rochambeau wrote much later, "I never ceased to enjoy the soundness of his judgment and the amenity of his style in a very long correspondence which is likely not to end before the end of one of us two."

IV.

Nothing without my second division, Rochambeau thought. He had urged the government in his last letters before leaving France to send it not later than a fortnight after he himself had sailed: "The convoy will cross much more safely now under the guard of two warships," he had written to Montbarey, "than it will in a month with an escort of thirty when the English are ready." But weeks and months went by and no news came of the second division. Washington with his ardent patriotism, La Fayette with his youthful enthusiasm, were pressing Rochambeau to risk all, in order to capture New York, the stronghold of the enemy and chief center of their power. "I fear those Savannahs of which I have seen more than one in my life," the old General would answer, feeling the more anxious that, with the coming of recruits and going of veterans, and the short term enlistments, "Washington would command now 15,000 men, now 5,000." Rochambeau decided in October to send his son to France to remonstrate. As capture was possible and the envoy might have to throw his despatches overboard, young Rochambeau, being blessed with youth and a good memory, had learnt their contents by heart. One of the best sailors of the fleet had been selected to convey him. On account of superior forces mounting guard outside the captain waited for the first night storm that should arise, when the watch was sure to be less strict, started in the midst of one, after having waited for eight days, was recognized, but too late, was chased, had his masts broken, repaired them, and reached Brest safely.

The sailor who did so well on this occasion and who was to meet a tragical death at Vanikoro, bore the name, famous since, of La Pérouse.

Time wore on, a sad time for the American cause. One day the news was that one of the most trusted Generals, famous for his services on land and water, Benedict Arnold, had turned traitor; another day that Gates had been routed at Camden and Kalb killed. In December Ternay died. In January, worse than all, the soldiers of the Pennsylvania line mutinied; unpaid, underfed, kept under the flag long after the time for which they had enlisted had expired, "they went," Closen writes in his journal, "to extremities. In Europe, they would not have waited so long." There was no doubt in fact that the life they had to lead did not closely resemble that which the posters urging enlistment depicted to them, one such poster, preserved in Philadelphia, vaunting, by way of conclusion, "the great advantages which these brave men will have who shall embrace this opportunity of spending a few happy years in viewing the different parts of this beautiful continent, in the honorable and truly respectable character of a soldier, after which he may, if he pleases, return home to his friends with his pockets full of money and his head covered with laurels. God save the United States!"

The danger was great, but brief; tempted by the enemy to change sides and receive full pay, they refused indignantly: "We are honest soldiers, asking justice from our compatriots," they answered; "we are not traitors." On the margin of a French account of those events, published in Paris in 1787, Clinton has scribbled a number of observations hitherto unprinted. They are in French, or something like it. Opposite this statement, the British General has written: "*Est bien dit et c'est dommage qu'il n'est past vrai.*" We can not tell, but one thing is sure, namely that in accordance with those words, spoken or not, the rebellious soldiers acted. Owing to Washington's influence, order soon reigned again, but the alarm had been very great, as shown by the instructions handed by the General to Colonel Laurens, now sent by him to Versailles with a mission similar to that of young Rochambeau. The emotion caused by the last events is reflected in them: "The patience of the American army is almost exhausted. * * * The great majority of the inhabitants is still firmly attached to the cause of independence," but that cause may be wrecked if more money, more men and more ships are not immediately supplied by the French ally (January 15, 1781).

While the presence of the American and French troops in the North kept Clinton and his powerful New York garrison immobile where they

were, the situation in the South was becoming worse and worse, with Cornwallis at the head of superior forces, Lord Rawdon holding Charleston and the hated Arnold ravaging Virginia.

Against them the American forces under Greene, La Fayette, and Morgan (who had nearly destroyed Tarleton's cavalry at Cowpens, January 17) were doing their utmost, facing fearful odds. With a handful of men, knowing that the slightest error might be his destruction, young La Fayette, aged twenty-four, far from help and advice, was conducting a campaign in which his pluck, wisdom and tenacity won him the admiration of veterans. Irritated ever to find him on his path Cornwallis was writing a little later to Clinton: "If I can get an opportunity to strike a blow at him without loss of time, I will certainly try it." But La Fayette would not let his adversary thus employ his leisure.

To arrest the progress of Arnold, two French expeditions were sent, taking advantage of moments when access to the sea was not blocked by the English fleet, one in February under Tilly, who pursued Arnold's convoy up the Elizabeth River as high as the draught of his ships permitted, but had to stop and come home, having only captured the *Romulus* of 44 guns, some smaller ships, a quantity of supplies destined for Arnold, and made 550 prisoners; another of more importance under the Chevalier Destouches in March, with part of the French army on board in case a landing were possible. In spite of all precautions, Destouches' intentions were discovered, the English fleet engaged ours; the fight, in which 72 French lost their lives and 112 were wounded, was a creditable one and might easily have ended in disaster, for the enemy had more guns, and several of our ships, on account of their not being copper-lined, were slow; but clever manœuvring, however, compensated those defects. Congress voted thanks, but the situation remained the same. "And now," Closen noted down in his journal, "we have Arnold free to act as he pleases, Virginia desolated by his incursions and M. de La Fayette too weak to do anything but keep on the defensive."

V.

One day, however, something would have to be done, and, in order to be ready, Rochambeau kept his army busy with manœuvres, military exercises, sham warfare and the building of fortifications. As for his officers, he encouraged them to travel, for a large part of the country was free of enemies, and to become better acquainted with these "American brothers," whom they had come to fight for. It was at this period that Chastellux gathered the material for his well-known *Voyage*,

the first edition of which, in a much abbreviated form, was issued by that printing press of the fleet brought over by Rochambeau: "De l'Imprimerie Royale de l'Escadre," one reads on the title page. Only twenty-three copies were struck off, the "Imprimerie Royale" of the fleet had obviously no superabundance of types nor of paper. Closen, who, to his joy and surprise, had been made a member of Rochambeau's "family," that is, had been appointed one of his aides, as soon as his new duties left him some leisure, began, with his methodical mind, to study, he tells us, "the constitution of the thirteen States and of the Congress of America," meaning, of course, at that date their several constitutions, which organization, "as time has shown, is well adapted to the national character and has made the happiness of that people so respectable from every point of view." He began after this to examine the products of the soil of Rhode Island, "perhaps one of the prettiest islands on the globe." In winter, knowing now some English, he mixed in society and observed manners. He notices with surprise that, when you come to any gathering of men in America, you must go round, take the hand of each and give it a shake, and with delight that "nature has endowed the ladies of Rhode Island with the handsomest, finest features one can imagine." Let not the ladies of other States be tempted to resent the comparison. One sees later that in each city he visits young Closen is similarly struck and that, more considerate than the shepherd Paris, he somehow manages to refuse the apple to none. On the Boston ladies he is quite enthusiastic, on the Philadelphia ones not less; he finds, however, the latter a little too serious, which he attributes to the presence of Congress in that city.

But above all, the object of my compatriots' curiosity was the great man, the one of whom they had heard so much on the other side, the personification of the new-born ideas of liberty and popular government, George Washington. All wanted to see him, and as soon as permission to travel was granted several managed to reach his camp. Thus it is that Chastellux could draw from life his well-known description of him ending: "Northern America, from Boston to Charleston, is a great book where every page tells his praise." Count de Ségur says that he apprehended his expectations could not be equaled by reality, but they were. "His exterior almost told his story. Simplicity, grandeur, dignity, calm, kindness, firmness shone in his physiognomy as well as in his character. He was of a noble and high stature, his expression was gentle and kindly, his smile pleasing, his manners simple without familiarity. * * * All in him announced the hero of a republic." "I have seen Washington," says Abbé Robin, "the soul and support of one of the greatest revolu-

tions that ever happened. * * * In a country where every individual has a part in supreme authority * * * he has been able to maintain his troops in absolute subordination, render them jealous of his praise, make them fear his very silence." Closen was one day sent with dispatches to the great man and, like all the others, began to worship him. As a consequence of those letters Washington came, on the 6th of March, 1781, to visit the French camp and fleet. He was received with the honors due to a Marshal of France, the ships were dressed, the troops, in their best uniforms, lined the streets from Rochambeau's house to the harbor; the roar and smoke of the guns beneath the sky. Washington saw Destouches' fleet sail for its southern expedition and wished it Godspeed; and after a six days' stay, enlivened by "illuminations, dinners and balls," he left on the 13th. "I can say," we read in Closen's journal, "that he carried away with him the regrets, the attachment, the respect and the veneration of all our army." Summing up his impression he adds: "All in him betokens a great man with an excellent heart. Enough good will never be said of him."

VI.

On the 8th of May, 1781, the *Concorde* arrived at Boston with Count de Barras on board, who was to replace Ternay, and Viscount Rochambeau bringing to his father the unwelcome news that no second division was to be expected. But another piece of news brought by him was of immense import. A new fleet under Count de Grasse had been sent to the West Indies, so that naval supremacy was now possible for us. A large sum for the use of both the French and the American army, had also been sent, "though the times are hard," Vergennes wrote to La Luzerne. As for troops, only 600 French recruits landed at Boston in June. A great effort must now be made, *the* great effort in view of which all the rest had been done, the one which might bring about peace and American liberty or end in definitive failure. All felt the importance and solemnity of the hour. The great question was what should be attempted—the storming of New York or the relief of the South?

The terms of the problem had been amply discussed in letters and conferences between the chiefs, and the discussion still continued. The one who first made up his mind and ceased to hesitate between the respective advantages or disadvantages of the two projects, and who plainly declared that there was but one good plan, which was to reconquer the South, that one, strange to say, was neither Washington nor Rochambeau, and was not in the United States either as a sailor or a soldier, but as a diplomat, and in drawing attention to the fact I am

glad to be performing the honorable duty of a successor towards my wise predecessor La Luzerne. In an unpublished memoir of his sent by him to Rochambeau on May 19, with request that it be placed under the eyes of Washington, he insisted on the necessity of immediate action, and action in the Chesapeake: "It is in the Chesapeake Bay that it seems urgent to convey all the naval forces of the King with such land forces as the Generals will consider appropriate. This change cannot fail to have the most advantageous consequences for the continuation of the campaign," which consequences he points out with singular clear-sightedness.

At the Weathersfield conferences, a few days later, Washington still evinced, and not without some weighty reasons, his preference for an attack on New York, and spoke of the advanced season and "the great waste of men which we have found from experience, in long marches to the southern States." On the 23d of May he was still writing to La Luzerne: "Our object is New York."

La Luzerne, however, kept on insisting. To Rochambeau he wrote on the 1st of June: "The situation of the Southern States becomes every moment more critical * * * and every measure that could be taken for their relief would be of infinite advantage. * * * The situation of the Marquis de La Fayette and that of General Greene is most embarrassing. * * * If Virginia is not helped in time, the English will have reached the goal which they have assigned to themselves in the bold movements attempted by them in the South; they will soon to have really conquered the Southern States. * * * I am going to write to M. de Grasse as you want me to do; on your side, seize every occasion to write to him and multiply the copies of the letters you send him," that is in duplicate and triplicate, for fear of loss or capture. "His coming to the rescue of the oppressed States is not simply desirable; the thing seems to be now of the most pressing necessity." He must not only come, but bring with him all he can find of French troops in our isles: thus would be compensated, to a certain extent, the absence of the second division.

Rochambeau soon agreed, and with his usual wisdom, Washington was not long in doing the same. On the 28th of May the French general had already written to de Grasse asking him to come with every means at his disposal, to bring his whole fleet and not only his fleet, but a supply of money and also all the French land forces he could muster; the desire of Saint-Simon to come and help had, of course, not been forgotten by Rochambeau. He concluded: "The crisis through which America is

passing at this moment is of the severest. The coming of Count de Grasse may be salvation."

Events had so shaped themselves that the fate of the United States and the destinies of more than one nation would be, for a few weeks, in the hands of one man, and one greatly hampered by imperative instructions, obliging him, at a time when there was no steam to command the wind and waves, to be at a fixed date in the West Indies, owing to certain arrangements with Spain. Would he take the risk, and what would be the answer of that temporary arbiter of future events Francois Joseph Paul, Comte de Grasse, Lieutenant General in the navy, and "chef d'escadre," a sailor who had seen already much service on every sea, in the East and West Indies, with d'Orvilliers at Ushant, with Guichen against Rodney in the Caribbean Sea, a haughty man, it was said, with some friends and many enemies, the one quality of his acknowledged by friend and foe being his valor. "Our admiral," his sailors were wont to say, "is six foot tall on ordinary days and six foot six on battle days."

What would he do and say? People, in those times, had to take their chance and act in accordance with probabilities. This did Washington and Rochambeau. By the beginning of June all was astir in the northern camp. Soldiers did not know what was contemplated, but obviously it was something great. Young officers exulted. What joy to have at last the prospect of an "active campaign," wrote Closen in his journal, "and to have an occasion to visit other provinces and see the differences in manners, customs, products and trade of our good Americans."

The armies are on the move; they are in the best dispositions, ready to fight or admire, according to circumstances all that turns up: "The country between Providence and Bristol," says Closen, "is charming. We thought we had been transported into Paradise, all the roads being lined with acacias in full bloom, filling the air with their fragrance." Steeples are climbed and "the sight is one of the finest possible." Serpents are somewhat troublesome, but such things will happen, even in Paradise. The heat also is very great and night marches are arranged, beginning at 2 o'clock in the morning; roads at times become muddy paths, where wagons, artillery, carts conveying boats for the crossing of rivers cause great trouble. Poor Abbé Robin unaccustomed to martyrdom, sleeps on the ground under torrential rain, drenched on one side and roasted by a camp fire on the other. Several officers, for the sake of example, discard their horses and walk; some of them, like the Viscount de Noailles, performing on foot the whole distance of 756 miles between Newport and Yorktown. Cases of sickness were rare: "The attention of the superior officers," says Abbé Robin, "very much con-

tributed to this, by the care they took in obliging the soldiers to drink no water without rum in it to remove its noisome qualities." It is not reported that superior officers had to use violence to be obeyed. This precaution, up to a recent date, was still considered a wise one; in the long journeys on foot that we used to take in my youth, our tutor was convinced that no water microbe could resist the addition of a little kirsch. Anyway we resisted the microbes.

On the 7th of July the junction of the two armies which had been following different roads, took place at Phillipsburg. At the receipt of the news, Lord Germain, the British Colonial Secretary, wrote to Clinton in New York: "The junction of the French troops with the Americans will, I am persuaded, soon produce disagreements and discontents, and Mr. Washington will find it necessary to separate them very speedily, either by detaching the Americans to the southward or suffering the French to return to Rhode Island. * * * But I trust before that can happen Lord Cornwallis will have given the loyal inhabitants on both sides of the Chesapeake the opportunity they have so long ago earnestly desired of avowing their principles and standing forth in support of the King's measures." Similar proofs of my Lord's acumen abound in his partly unpublished correspondence. He goes on rejoicing and deducting all the happy consequences which were sure to result from the meeting of the French and American troops, so blandly elated at the prospect as to remind anyone familiar with La Fontaine's fables of Perrette and her milk pot.

Washington in the meantime was reviewing the French troops (July 9) and Rochambeau the American ones, and, a fact which would have greatly surprised Lord Germain, the worse equipped the latter were, the greater the sympathy and admiration among the French for their endurance. "Those brave people," wrote Closen, "it really pained us to see, almost naked, with mere linen vests and trousers, most of them without stockings; but would you believe it? looking very healthy and in the best of spirits." And further on: "I am full of admiration for the American troops. It is unbelievable that troops composed of men of all ages, even of children of fifteen, of blacks and whites, all nearly naked, without money, poorly fed, should walk so well and stand the enemy's fire with such firmness. The calmness of mind and the clever combinations of General Washington, in whom I discover every day new eminent qualities, are already enough known and the whole universe respects and admires him. Certain it is that he is admirable at the head of his army, every member of which considers him as his friend and father." These sentiments which were unanimous in the French

army assuredly did not betoken the clash counted upon by the English Perrette, and more than one of our officers who had, a few years later, to take part in another revolution must have been reminded of the Continental soldiers of '81, as they led to battle, fighting for a similar cause, our volunteers of '92.

VII.

Two unknown factors now were for the Generals the cause of deep concern. What would de Grasse do? What would Clinton do? The wounded officer of Johannisberg, the winner of Charleston, Sir Henry Clinton, former member of Parliament, enjoying great repute, was holding New York, not yet the second city of the world nor even the first of the United States, covering only the lower part of Manhattan, and reduced, owing to the war, to 10,000 inhabitants. But posted there, the English commander threatened the road on which the combined armies had to move. He had at his disposal immense stores, strong fortifications, a powerful fleet to second his movements, and troops equal in number and training to ours.

There are periods in the history of nations when, after a continuous series of misfortunes, when despair would have seemed excusable, suddenly the sky clears and everything turns their way. In the war of American independence, such a period had begun. The armies of Washington and Rochambeau, greatly encumbered with their carts, wagons and artillery, had to pass rivers, to cross mountainous regions: any serious attempt against them might have wrecked their chances, but nothing was tried. It was of the greatest importance that Clinton should, as long as possible, have no intimation of the real plans of the Franco-Americans; everything helped to mislead him: his natural dispositions as well as circumstances. He had an unshakable conviction that the key to the whole situation was New York and that the royal power in America, and he too, Lt-General Sir Henry Clinton, would stand or fall with that city. Hence his disinclination to leave it and to attempt anything outside. His instructions ordered him to help Cornwallis to his utmost, the plan of the British Court being to conquer the Southern States first and then continue the conquest northwards. But he, on the contrary, was asking Cornwallis to send back some of his troops. And while, as he never ceased to point out afterwards, he was careful to add: "If you could spare them," he also remarked in the same letter: "I confess I could not conceive you would require above 4,000 in a station where General Arnold has represented to me, upon

report of Colonel Simcoe, that 2,000 men would be amply sufficient" (July 8, 1781).

A great source of light, and as it turned out, of confusion also was the intercepting of letters. This constantly happened in those days to the benefit or bewilderment of both parties, on land or at sea. But luck had decidedly turned, and the stars shone propitious for the allies. We captured useful letters and Clinton's misleading ones. It was something of a retribution after he had so often used or tried to use such captures to his advantage: as when having seized an intimate letter of Washington, a passage of which might have given umbrage to Rochambeau, he had it printed in the newspapers. But those two men were not to be ruffled so easily, and all that took place was a frank explanation. Spontaneously acting in the same spirit, La Luzerne had written to Rochambeau concerning Washington and this incident: "I have told all those that have spoken to me of it that I saw nothing in it but the zeal of a good patriot, and a citizen must be very virtuous for his enemies not to find other crimes to reproach him with" (April 13, 1781).

Other treasures had now fallen into the hands of Clinton: a letter of Chastelluz to La Luzerne, speaking very superciliously of his unmanageable chief, Rochambeau, whom at last he, Chastellux, had succeeded in making understand that the thing to do was to besiege New York. Clinton caused that letter to be sent to Rochambeau, "with no view, obviously," writes the latter, "to the preservation of peace in my military family." Rochambeau showed it to Chastellux, threw it into the fire, and left the unfortunate academician "a prey to his remorse,"—and to his ignorance, for he was careful not to undeceive him as to the real plans of the combined army.

A text of the conclusions arrived at in the Weathersfield conferences was no less happily captured by Clinton, and we have seen how clearly Washington had expressed then his reluctance at attempting to strike the chief blow in the south. A letter of Barras to La Luzerne, of May 27, was also intercepted, and as luck would have it, the sailor declared in it his intention to take the fleet, of all places, to Boston (a real project, but abandoned as soon as formed and replaced by another which took him to the Chesapeake). A most important letter of Rochambeau to La Luzerne, explaining the real plan, was thereupon intercepted; it was in cipher and the English managed to decipher it. But as the stars shone propitious to the allies it was only the English in London and not those in New York who could do it, and when the translation reached Clinton at last, he had no longer, for good causes, any doubt as to the real aims of Washington and Rochambeau.

The Colonial Secretary was in the meantime kept in a state of jubilation by so much treasure-trove, and the news forwarded by Clinton to whom he wrote: "The copies of the very important correspondence which so fortunately fell into your hands, inclosed in your dispatch, show the Rebel affairs to be almost desperate, and that nothing but the success of some extraordinary enterprise can give vigor and activity to their cause, and I confess I am well pleased that they have fixed upon New York as the object to be attempted" (July 14, 1781). Clinton acknowledged a little later to Lord Germain, the receipt of a "reinforcement of about 2,400 German troops and recruits," which he was careful to hold tight in New York till the end.

The combined armies had in the meantime done their best to confirm the English commander in such happy dispositions. They had built in the vicinity of New York brick ovens for baking bread for an army, as in view of a long siege. Skirmishes looking like preliminary operations had taken place, in one of which, together with the two Berthiers and Count de Vauban, Closen nearly lost his life in order to save his hat. A camp-proverb about hats had been the cause of his taking the risk. When he returned, "kind Washington," he writes in his journal, "tapped me on the shoulder, saying: 'Dear Baron, this French proverb is not yet known among our army, but your cold behavior during danger will be'" (in English in the original as being the very words of the great man to the young one).

Then on the sudden, on the 18th of August, the two armies raised their camps, disappeared and following unusual roads, moving northwards at first for three marches, suddenly darted south, with all speed, abandoning part of their equipment for the sake of rapidity. The news to be sure, came to Clinton; but since the stars were now propitious, not to him, he chose to conclude, as he wrote to Lord Germain on the 7th of September, "this to be a feint." When he discovered that it was not "a feint" the Franco-American army was beyond reach. "What can be said as to this?" Clinton writes merrily, "try to see better another time," and he draws a pair of spectacles on the margin of his journal.

The march southwards thus continued unhampered, Closen having the happiness to "hear from the lips of General Washington, and on the ground itself, a description of the dispositions taken, the movements and all the incidents of the famous battles of Trenton and Princeton." The young man was now used by the two Generals as their interpreter, so nothing escaped him. The reception at Philadelphia was triumphal, Congress was most courteous, the city was declared superb, with shops "which, for richness and taste, do not yield to the *Petit Dunkerque* in

Paris." Where is now the *Petit Dunkerque*? "Mais ou sont les neiges d'antan?" Women proved admirable, Benezet, the French Quaker, full of wisdom, and La Luzerne, who lived in great state, gave a dinner to 180 guests.

From Philadelphia to Chester, on the 5th of September, Rochambeau and his aides took a boat. As they were nearing the latter city, "we saw in the distance," says Closen, "General Washington shaking his hat and a white handkerchief and showing signs of great joy." Rochambeau had scarcely landed when Washington, usually so cool and composed, fell into his arms; the great news had arrived; de Grasse had come, and while Cornwallis was on the defensive at Yorktown, the French fleet was barring the Chesapeake.

On the receipt of letters from Washington, Rochambeau and La Luzerne, telling him to what extent the fate of the United States was in his hands, the sailor, having "learnt, with much sorrow," he wrote to the latter, "what was the distress of the continent, and the need there was of immediate help," had decided that he would leave nothing undone in their favor. All available ships had been gathered together in the Isles, including some which, having been years away, had received orders to go back to France for repairs; he had had great difficulty in obtaining the money asked for, although he had offered to mortgage for it his castle of Tilly, and the Chevalier de Charitte, in command of the *Bourgogne*, had made a like offer. But at last, thanks to the Spanish Governor at Havana, he had secured the desired amount. He was bringing moreover the Marquis de Saint-Simon with the 3,000 regular troops under his command. De Grasse's only request was that operations be pushed on with the utmost rapidity, as he was bound to be back to the Isles at a fixed date. It can truly be said that no single man risked nor did more for the United States than de Grasse, the single one of the leaders to whom no memorial has been dedicated.

The news spread like wild fire; the camp was merry with songs and shouts; in Philadelphia the joy was indescribable; crowds pressed before the house of La Luzerne, cheering him and his country, while in the streets impromptu orators, standing on chairs, delivered mock funeral orations on the Earl of Cornwallis. "You have," Rochambeau wrote to the admiral, "spread universal joy throughout America, with which she is wild." (September 7, 1781.)

Anxiety was renewed, however, when it was learnt shortly after that the French men-of-war had left the Chesapeake, the entrance to which now remained free. The English fleet, under Graves and Hood, composed of twenty ships and seven frigates, had been signaled on the 5th of

September, and de Grasse, leaving behind him in order to go faster, some of his ships and a number of sailors who were busy on land, had weighed anchor, three-quarters of an hour after sighting the signals, to risk the fight upon which the issue of the campaign, and as it turned out, of the war, was to depend. Six days later he was back; he had had twenty-one officers and 200 sailors killed or wounded, but he had lost no ship, and the enemy's fleet, very much damaged and having lost the *Terrible*, of 74 guns, had been compelled to retreat to New-York. Admiral Robert Digby thereupon arrived with naval reinforcements; "yet I do not think," La Luzerne wrote to Rochambeau, "that battle will be offered again. If it is I am not anxious about the result." Nothing was attempted. This "superiority at sea," Tarleton wrote, in his history of the campaign, "proved the strength of the enemies of Great Britain, deranged the plans of her generals, disheartened the courage of her friends, and finally confirmed the independency of America." "Nothing," Rochambeau had written on his note book at starting, "without the supremecy of the sea." On reëntering the bay, de Grasse had the pleasure to find there another French fleet, that of his friend Barras, who, leaving Newport, going far out on the high seas, then dashing south at a great distance from the coast, had escaped the English and reached the Chesapeake, bringing the heavy siege artillery now indispensable for the last operations. The stars and continued incredibly propitious.

The well known double siege now began, that of Yorktown by Washington and Rochambeau, and that of Gloucester, on the opposite side of the river, which might have afforded a place of retreat to Cornwallis. De Grasse had consented to land, in view of the latter 800 men under Choisy. The two chiefs on the Yorktown side were careful to conduct the operations according to rules, "on account," says Closen, "of the reputation of Cornwallis and the strength of the garrison." Such rules were certainly familiar to Rochambeau whose fifteenth siege this one was. From day to day Cornwallis was more narrowly pressed. As late as the 29th of September he was still full of hope. "I have ventured these two days," he wrote to Clinton, "to look General Washington's whole force in the face in the position on the outside of my works; and I have the pleasure to assure Your Excellency that there was but one wish throughout the whole army, which was that the enemy would advance." A dozen days later the tone was very different. "I have only to repeat that nothing but a direct move to York River, which includes a successful naval action, can save me * * * many of our works are considerably damaged." Lord Germain was, in the meantime, writing to Clinton in his happiest mood, on the 12th of October: "It is a great

satisfaction to me to find * * * that the plan you had concerted for conducting the military operations in that quarter (the Chesapeake) corresponds with what I had suggested." The court, which had no more misgivings than Lord Germain himself, had caused to sail with Digby no less a personage than Prince William, one of the fifteen children of George III and eventually one of his successors as William IV; but his presence could only prove one more encumbrance.

After the familiar incidents of the siege in which the American and French armies displayed similar valor and met with about the same losses, the decisive move of the night attack on the enemy's advanced redoubts had to be made, one of the redoubts to be stormed by the Americans with La Fayette, and the other by the French under Viomesnil. Rochambeau addressed himself especially to the Grenadiers of the regiment of Gatinais, which had been formed with a portion of his old regiment of Auvergne, and said: "My boys, if I need you tonight I hope you will not have forgotten that we have served together in that brave regiment of Auvergne sans tache, spotless Auvergne." They answered that if he would promise to have their former name restored to them he would find they were ready to die to the last. They kept their word, losing one-third of their number, and one of the first requests of Rochambeau when he reached Paris was that their old name be given back to them, which was done. Gatinais thus became Royal Auvergne and is now the 18th Infantry. Concerning the Americans who continued throughout the siege under-clothed, under-fed, under-paid, but just as before brave and cheerful, Rochambeau writes in his memoirs: "This justice must be rendered to the Americans that they behaved with a zeal, a courage, an emulation which left them in no case behind, in all that part of the siege entrusted to them, in spite of their being unaccustomed to sieges."

On the 19th of October, after a loss of not more than three or four hundred men in each of the besieging armies, an act was signed as great in its consequences as any that ever followed the bloodiest battles, the capitulation of Yorktown. It was in a way the ratification of that other act which had been proposed for signature five years before at Philadelphia by men whose fate had more than once, in the interval, seemed desperate, the Act of Independence.

"I shall never forget," says Closen, "how horrible and painful to behold was the aspect of the town of York. * * * One could not walk three steps without finding big holes made by bombs, cannon balls, splinters, barely covered graves, arms and legs of blacks and whites scattered here and there, most of the houses riddled with shot and devoid

of window panes. * * * We found Lord Cornwallis in his house. His attitude evinced the nobility of his soul, his magnanimity and firmness of character. He seemed to say: I have nothing to reproach myself with, I have done my duty and defended myself to the utmost." This impression of Lord Cornwallis was general. As to Closen's description of the state of the little town, now so quiet and almost asleep amid her sand dunes at the foot of the great marble memorial raised by Congress, it is confirmed by Abbé Robin who notices, too: "The quantity of human limbs which infected the air," but also, being an abbé, the number of books scattered among the ruins, many being works of piety and theological controversy, and with them "the works of the famous Pope, and translations of Montaigne's Essays, of 'Gil Blas' and of the 'Essay on women' by Monsieur Thomas" that stern essay, so popular then in America, in which society ladies were invited to fill their soul with those "sentiments of nature which are born in retreat and grow in silence."

Nothing better than what happened on this solemn occasion, puts in its true light the dominant characteristic of the French sentiment throughout the war and shows how, with their new-born enthusiasm for philanthropy and liberty, the French were pro-Americans much more than anti-English. No trace of a triumphant attitude towards a vanquished enemy appeared in anything they did or said on this occasion. They pitied Cornwallis and showed him every consideration; Rochambeau learning that he was without money lent him all he wanted. A friendly correspondence began between the English General and some of the French officers, Viscount de Noailles, the one who had walked all the way, lending him, the week after the capitulation, his copy of the then celebrated work of Count de Guibert on Tactics, which was at that time the talk of Europe, and of which Napoleon said later that "it was such as to form great men," the same Guibert who expected lasting fame from that work and from his military services and who, irony of fate, general and academician though he was, is chiefly remembered as the hero of the letters of Mademoiselle de Lespinasse.

Cornwallis realized quite well that the French had fought for a cause dear to their hearts more than from any desire to humble him or his nation. He publicly rendered full justice to the victors, acknowledging that the fairest treatment had been awarded him by both the Americans and the French. Concerning the latter, in the final report in which he gives his own account of the catastrophe and which he caused to be printed when he reached England, he says: "The kindness and attention that has been shown us by the French officers * * * their deli-

cate sensibility of our situation, their generous and pressing offers of money, both public and private, to any amount, has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe and will, I hope, make an impression on the breast of every British officer whenever the fortune of war should put any of them in our power."

The French attitude in the new world proved in perfect accord with the French sentiments in the old one. On hearing of the capture of Cornwallis, of his 8,000 men (of whom 2,000 were in the hospitals), 800 sailors, 214 guns, and 22 flags, the king wrote to Rochambeau: "Monsieur le Comte de Rochambeau, The success of my arms flatters me only as being conducive to peace." A circular was sent to all the Bishops of France prescribing that *Te Deums* be sung in every cathedral and church of the realm. It was a long time since *Te Deums* for a victory had been heard, and the victory was over those who, not so very long before, had bereft us of Canada. Nothing more significant than the Pastoral Letter of "Louis Apollinaire de la Tour du Pin Montauban, by the Grace of God first Bishop of Nancy, Primate of Lorraine," appointing the date for the thanksgiving ceremonies and adding: "This so important advantage has been the result of the wisest measures. Reason and humanity have gauged it and have placed it far above those memorable but bloody victories whose lustre has been tarnished by almost universal mourning. Here the blood of our allies and of our generous compatriots has been spared, and why should we not note with satisfaction that the forces of our enemies have been considerably weakened, their efforts baffled, the fruits of their immense expense lost, without our having caused rivers of their blood to be spilt, without our having filled their country with unfortunate widows and mothers?" For this, too, as well as for the victory, thanks must be offered; and for this, too, for such a rare and such a humane feeling, the name of Bishop de la Tour du Pin Montauban deserves to be remembered.

VIII.

For one more year, the first part of which he spent at Williamsburg, Rochambeau remained in America; peace was a possibility, not a certainty. King George and his ministers remained stubborn, Lord Germain, especially, to whom the issue of the campaign had given a great shock and who was beseeching Parliament "to proceed with vigor in the prosecution of the war and not leave it in the power of the French to tell the Americans that they had procured their independence and were consequently entitled to a preference, if not an exclusive right in their

trade." This was not to know us well; our treaty of commerce had been signed three years before, at a time when anything would have been granted to propitiate France, but there was not in it one single advantage that was not equally accessible to anyone who chose, the English included. As for King George, he decided that the 8th of February would be a day of national fasting, to ask pardon for past since and impose Heaven's assistance in the prosecution of the war. Little was done, however, save to wait. The French General availed himself of his leisure to visit the country, go fox-hunting, entertain his neighbors, study the manners and resources of the inhabitants, taking note especially of religious toleration prevalent everywhere, of the price of labor (a dollar a day) of how a planter rose in about 20 years from log house to brick house, how men favored English furniture and ladies French fashions, and how the many were at their ease, with well supplied tables, "which the little negro is ever busy laying and clearing." Faithful Closen, who had been proposed for promotion for his gallant conduct at the siege, accompanied him everywhere, and also explored separately on his own account, led sometimes by his fondness for animals, as when he went to visit a colony of beavers, or investigate opossums and raccoons. Out of curiosity he once saw a cock fight, "but the sight is too cruel to give any pleasure." Rochambeau, his son, Closen and another aide, having with them fourteen horses and asking for hospitality on the way (a surprise party which may at times have caused embarrassment), journey to visit Jefferson at Monticello. The "philosopher" is found a most interesting man, possessing many books in spite of a destructive visit of Tarleton and his men, speaking a number of languages and knowing every particular of his country's history. A number of addresses couched in the most touching terms of gratitude are received from Congress, from local Legislatures, Universities and associations of all kinds.

Sent North to carry Rochambeau's answer to Congress and urgent letters to Washington, covering at times more than 100 miles a day, Closen finds time to see, admire and describe "Madame Custis," the "young, charming, and lovely daughter-in-law of General Washington."

As summer is coming, the French army is moved northwards, in view of possible operations. This is for Closen the occasion of a visit to Mount Vernon, where Mrs. Washington entertains the visitor, as well as Count de Custine and several of his officers. Custine, the same who was shortly after to win and lose battles during the French Revolution and die beheaded during the Terror, seized this occasion to offer to Mrs. Washington a set of porcelain which he had had made in a manufacture belonging to him at Niederwiller, near Phalsbourg: "It was," says

Closen, "of the greatest beauty and newest fashion, with the arms of General Washington and his monogram surmounted by a crown of laurel. Mrs. Washington was enchanted." All leave the same evening except Closen, who remained one day more, "being treated with all possible affability by the ladies whose society was beyond expression sweet and delightful to me." The incomparable Mrs. Custis was one of them. He leaves at last, "rather sad."

Moving northwards the French officers notice the extraordinary progress realized since the previous year; burned houses have been rebuilt, new ones have been erected: "There are fifty new ones at Wilmington, all in brick, very large and fine." At Philadelphia, La Luzerne is ready with another magnificent entertainment. A Dauphin has been born to France and a very beautiful hall has been built for the intended banquet by "a French officer serving in the American corps of engineers," L'Enfant by name, the one who now rests under the tall trees in Arlington cemetery, overlooking the Federal city built after his plans.

On the 14th of August Washington and Rochambeau are again together and the American troops are reviewed; they are no longer in tatters; their manœuvres are perfect and the commander-in-chief is visibly delighted to show them at last in such fine array. Everybody compliments him.

In the autumn of 1782 a general parting took place, Rochambeau returning to France and the army being sent to the Isles, believed now to be threatened by the English; for if the war was practically at an end for the Americans on the continent it was not yet the same everywhere, and Suffren especially was prosecuting in the Indies his famous naval campaign which, owing to the lack of means of communication, was to be continued long after peace had been signed. So many friendships had been formed that there was much emotion when the last days came. "On the 18th of October," says Closen, "we took leave of General Washington and of the other officers of our acquaintance. There is no sort of kindness and token of good will we have not received from General Washington; the idea of parting from the French army, probably forever, seemed to cause him real sorrow, having as he had, received the most convincing proofs of the respect, the veneration, the esteem and even the attachment which every individual in the army felt for him."

After having taken leave, "in tenderest fashion," of the American commander, who promised "an enduring fraternal friendship," Rochambeau, carrying with him two bronze field pieces taken at Yorktown, presented by Congress and adorned with inscriptions devised by Wash-

ington, sailed for France on the *Emeraude*, early in January, 1783. An English warship which had been cruising at the entrance of the Chesapeake, nearly captured him, and it was only by throwing overboard her spare masts and part of her artillery that the *Emeraude*, thus become lighter and faster, could escape. The King, the Ministers, the whole country, received the General with acclamations: "The homages of all good Frenchmen go to you," Vergennes had written him. He received the blue ribbon of the Holy Ghost, was appointed Governor of Picardy, and a few years later became Marshal of France. Owing to the proximity of his new post he was able twice to visit England, where he met again his dear La Luzerne, now French Ambassador in London, and his former foe, Admiral Hood, who received him with open arms. But the tokens of friendship which touched him most came from officers of Cornwallis's army: "They manifested," he writes, "in the most public manner their gratitude for the humanity with which they had been treated by the French army after their surrender."

Rochambeau was keeping up with Washington a most affectionate correspondence, still partly unpublished, the great American often reminding him of his "friendship and love" for his "companions in war," discussing a possible visit to France, and describing his life now spent "in rural employments and in contemplation of those friendships which the Revolution enabled me to form with so many worthy characters of your nation through whose assistance I can now sit down in my calm retreat." And he added: "Although it is against the profession of arms, I wish to see all the world at peace" (Mount Vernon, Sept. 7, 1785).

"Much as he may wish to conceal himself and lead the life of a plain man, he will ever be the first citizen of the United States," La Luzerne had written to Vergennes, and the truth of the statement was shown when a unanimous election made of the former Commander-in-chief the first President of the new republic in the year when the States General met in France and our own Revolution began.

Knowing the friendly dispositions of Rochambeau towards Americans, Washington often gave those going abroad letters of introduction to him; one day the man was Gouverneur Morris, so well known afterwards; another day it was a poet. Less sure of his ground when the question was of Parnassus than when it was of battlefields, Washington had described this traveler to La Fayette as being "considered by those who are good judges to be a genius of the first magnitude." To Rochambeau he introduced him as "the author of an admirable poem in which he has worthily celebrated the glory of your nation in general and of yourself in particular" (May 28, 1788). The poet proved to be Joel Bar-

self in particular" (May 28, 1788). The poet proved to be Joel Barlow of Hartford, who was to die in a Polish village in the course of a journey undertaken to present his credentials as United States Minister to the French Sovereign of that day, Napoleon by name, who for momentous reasons happened then to be accessible only in Russia. The poem was the *Vision of Columbus*, in which an angel appears to the navigator in his legendary prison and reveals to him, in Virgilian fashion, the future of America. Washington, Wayne, Greene are thus shown him, as well as

Brave Rochambeau in gleamy steel array'd,

a description which, if brave Rochambeau ever saw it, must have made him smile.

The war of the Austrian Succession had found him already an officer in the French army; the Revolution found him still an officer in the French army, defending the frontier as Commander-in-chief of the northern troops. In 1792, he definitively withdrew to Rochambeau, barely escaping with his life during the Terror. A striking and touching thing it is to note that, when a prisoner in that "horrible sepulchre," the Conciergerie, he appealed to the "Citizen President of the Revolutionary Tribunal," and invoked as a safeguard the great name of Washington, "my colleague and my friend in the war we made together for the liberty of America."

Luckier than many of his companions in arms of the American war, than Lauzun, Custine, d'Estaing, Dillon, and others, Rochambeau escaped the scaffold. He lived long enough to see rise to glory that young man who was teaching the world better military tactics than even the book of Count de Guibert, Bonaparte, now first Consul of the French Republic. Bonaparte had great respect for the old Marshal who was presented to him by the Minister of War in 1803: he received him surrounded by his generals, and as the soldier of Clostercamp and Yorktown entered he said, "Monsieur de Maréchal, here are your pupils"; and the old man answered: "They have surpassed their master."

After having been very near death from his wounds in 1747, Rochambeau died only in 1807, being then in his castle of Rochambeau and aged 82. He was buried in the neighboring village of Thoré, in a tomb the inscription on which, composed by his wife, tells of his virtues as a man and a soldier, and of their enduring love. She herself now sleeps in the same sepulchre, after having survived him seventeen years, and died at the age of 94. If a project I cherish can be fulfilled, an

oak from an acorn gathered at Mount Vernon will one day shade the ashes of the companion in arms of Washington.

Some may perhaps be curious to know what became of Closen. Sent to the Isles with the rest of Rochambeau's army, he continued to collect information with the merriest activity on men, women, plants and animals. He returned to France at the peace with a mass of notes, documents, sketches, a number of stuffed beasts and some live ones. His return to the old country had something magnificent. "And I," we read in his journal, "after having bought a fine coach where I could place, before, behind, on the top, my servants, consisting in a white man and in my faithful and superb black Peter, and with them three monkeys, four parrots and six parrakeets, posted to Paris in this company, a noisy one and difficult to maintain clean and in good order. * * * The next day I was at Saint Pol de Léon, my last quarter before sailing for America, and saw again with hearty rejoicings the respectable Kersabiec family which had so well tended me throughout my convalescence after a deadly disease." He thought he could do no less than present them with one of his parrakeets as a token of "gratitude and friendship."

In Paris, the Minister received him very kindly. The Rochambeau family made him stay at their house; and the journal closes as did the good old novels of yore. Leaving Paris with the promise of a colonelcy, he went home to Deux-Ponts: "Then I found my beautiful fiancée, my dear, my divine Doris, who had had the constancy to keep for me her heart and her hand during the four years of my absence in America, in spite of several proposals received by her, even from men much better endowed with worldly goods, my share consisting only in the before mentioned ministerial promise and in the reputation of an honest man and a good soldier."

I shall only add that the ministerial promise was kept, and that it was as a colonel and a knight of Saint Louis that Closen found himself aide de camp again to his old chief Rochambeau on the northern frontier during the early days of the French Revolution.

These men are no more; their work remains and will keep their memory green forever. The three million Americans of the Rochambeau days have become one hundred million and the flag which floated with ours over the smoking ruins of Yorktown is now respected all over the globe. Those leaders won great fame because they never thought of their fame, but only of accomplishing great deeds. The cause they fought for was a good one, and it soon came to pass that even the ad-

versary acknowledged it to be the cause of justice. Every hostile sentiment has therefore, and quite naturally, long vanished. The three nations that stood in arms at Yorktown, the three whose ancestors had known a hundred years' war, will soon have to celebrate a hundred years' peace. "I wish to see all the world at peace," Washington had written to Rochambeau. So far as the three nations who fought at Yorktown are concerned, for almost a century now, his wish has been fulfilled.

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Harrison, Dr. T. P.....	Raleigh
Harrison, Mrs. T. P.....	Raleigh
Haywood, A. W.....	Raleigh
Haywood, Ernest	Raleigh
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Heartt, Major Leo D.....	Raleigh
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Hewitt, F. R.....	Asheville
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Highsmith, J. Henry.....	Wake Forest
Hill, Dr. D. H.....	Raleigh
Hill, John Sprunt.....	Durham
Hill, William Laurie.....	Barium Springs
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Hinsdale, Mrs. W. J.....	Raleigh
Hinshaw, G. W.....	Winston-Salem
Hinton, Miss Mary Hilliard.....	Raleigh
Hobbs, Dr. L. L.....	Guilford College
Hoke, W. A.....	Raleigh
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Holt, J. Allen.....	Oak Ridge
Holt, L. Banks.....	Graham
Hood, George E.....	Goldsboro
Hook, Mrs. C. C.....	Charlotte
Hopkins, Lindsay	Atlanta, Ga.
Howell, E. V.....	Chapel Hill

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Hoyt, W. H.....	New York City
Hunt, J. M. B.....	Townsville
Hunter, Rev. A. B.....	Raleigh
Hunter, Carey J.....	Raleigh
Hunter, Mrs. Carey J.....	Raleigh
Hunter, J. Rufus.....	Raleigh
Jackson, Mrs. H. W.....	Richmond, Va.
Jackson, W. C.....	Greensboro
Jarvis, Hon. T. J.....	Greenville
Jenkins, Miss Mamie E.....	Greenville
Jerman, B. S.....	Raleigh
Johnson, Clarence A.....	Raleigh
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Johnson, Col. Chas. E.....	Raleigh
Johnson, Mrs. Chas. E.....	Raleigh
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Jones, Miss Lovie.....	Raleigh
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Lewis, Mrs. R. H.....	Raleigh
Lewis, Miss Annie.....	Raleigh
Lindley, J. Van.....	Greensboro

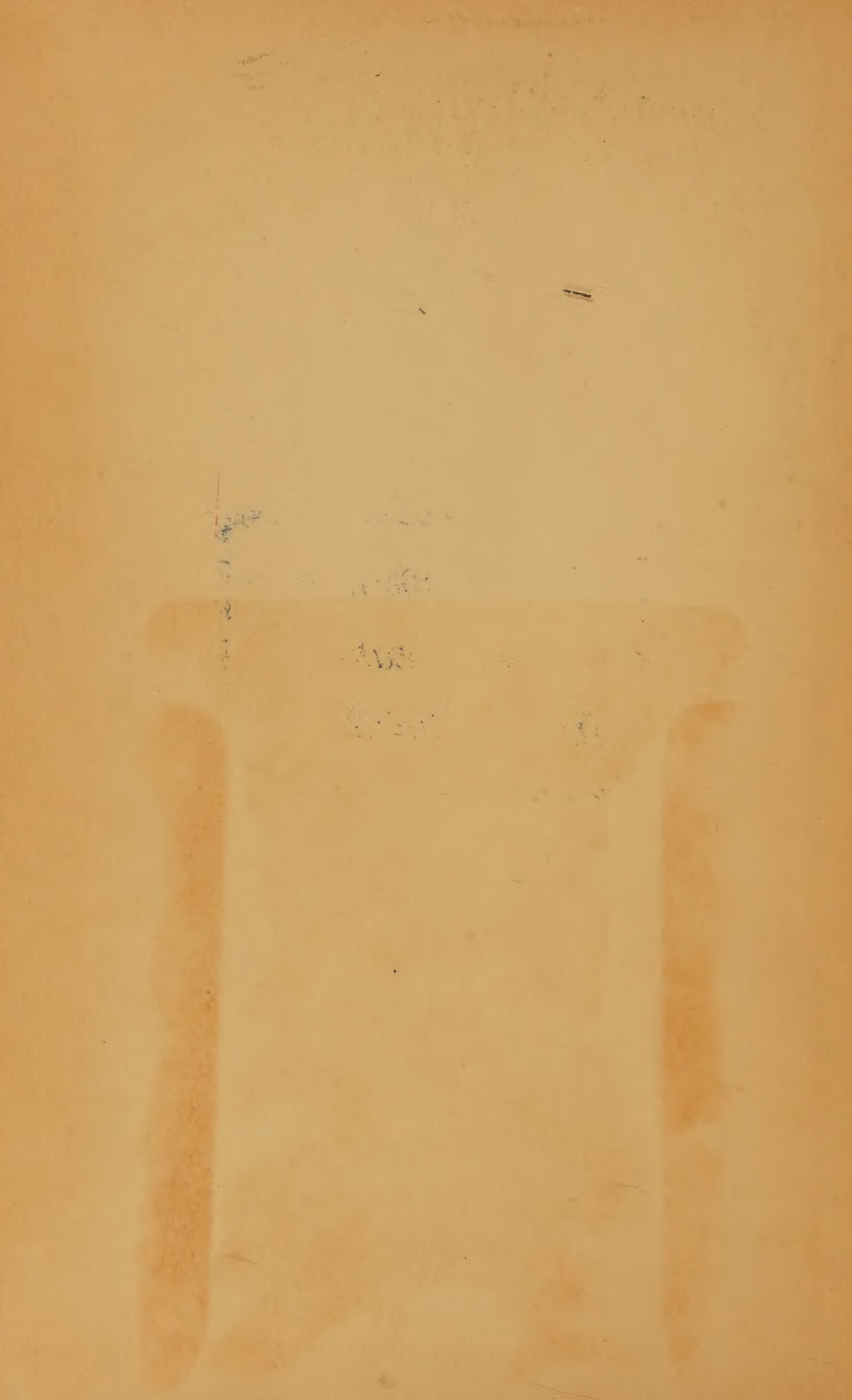
Litchford, Henry E.....	Richmond, Va.
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Long, Mrs. J. A., Jr.....	Roxboro
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Sprunt, James	Wilmington
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Stevens, Mrs. C. L.	Southport
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Utley, Rev. C. H.	Cooleemee
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Winston, Hon. R. W.....	Raleigh
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Wood, J. G.....	Edenton
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Woodard, Mrs. F. A.....	Wilson
Woodard, Dr. C. A.....	Durham
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Wright, Robt. H.....	Greenville
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